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THE CROZER QUARTERLY

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THE CROZER QUARTERLY

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CHANGING HORIZONS IN THE GOSPELS

MORTON S. ENSLIN

IT HAS become almost a truism among students of the New Testament that it is a hopeless task to attempt to write a life or biography of Jesus. Materials for such a study are totally inadequate. Yet it is equally true that there seems little reason to believe that men will ever forego that attempt. Perhaps the very fact of the insuperable difficulties lends enthusiasm to the task. It cannot be done; so we try to do it. Thus biographies and near-biographies continue to appear with bewildering regularity. In all of them, with the possible exception of those perpetrated for financial reasons or with some other ulterior motive and thus content to reaffirm the old shibboleths with complete unconcern for the results of a century-and-a-half of study, one wistful desire may be clearly seen, although it is not always clearly expressed, the desire to find that master-key which will unlock a door, so long shut, and let us, after passing through, walk with him and see for ourselves not only who he was and what he did, but who he is and what his words are to us today.

During the Middle Ages and down to the time of the Protestant Reformation no apprehension was felt. This key with several others was in its place on the key-ring of the Church. The fact that Anna and Veronica were not mentioned in the New Testament gospels was of small concern. Did not the tradition of the Church affirm that the one had been the mother of the Virgin, that the other had wiped the face of Jesus as he toiled along the Via Dolorosa? In the face of such authority what uncertainty was possible?

The Reformation, whatever else it may have done, transferred the seat of authority from the voice of the Church to the Scriptures. The sources of information for the earthly life of Jesus were the four canonical gospels. To repeat a convenient and mouth-filling phrase, often used today by those to whom all doubts and uncertainties are distasteful, since they involve that hardest of all tasks, thought: Canonicity insured historicity. But settled problems have an embarrassing habit of speedily becoming unsettled. So here. The birth of new ideas, the Copernican theory of the universe, the physical doctrines of Descartes and Newton,

the philosophical views of Hobbes and Locke—these contributed to a new freedom, and as everything else was being exposed to wholesome doubt and inquiry, soon doubts and denials of the traditional picture of Jesus as painted in the gospels made perfectly clear that for many men canonicity, whatever it might do, did not insure historicity.

As we look back to the days of the English deists and the rationalists of the Continent, it is very easy to minimize their significance and to speak contemptuously of the window-breaking activities—and stained glass windows they were—of a Bolingbroke or a Chubb. Had they not stigmatized the Bible a collection of unauthentic and fabulous books; the law of Moses a miserable system of superstitions, blindness, and slavery; the Jewish priests deceivers; the prophets the real originators of the civil wars and distractions which resulted in the downfall of Israel and Judah; the apostles mercenary and selfish men; Jesus, himself, one of character far from being above reproach? Yet it is unwise to dismiss this contemptuously, for this negative and schoolboy skepticism was not simply a temporary vagary and unrest. It was the natural expression of suspicions, crude and vulgar though they often were, which grew into the critical sciences. Its championship of freedom for inquiry, its wholesome refusal to set up or to recognize limits beyond which it might not go, and its desire to reach solid foundations made it one of the real mile-stones in the history of theological thought.

All this necessitated a closer study of the records. At first this was not seen. The fundamental weakness of the deists and rationalists, viz., the attempt at a critique of the narratives contained in the gospels, without first a critique and evaluation of the documents themselves, was shared by no less a figure than the gifted David Friederich Strauss, to whom modern criticism is so deeply indebted without today always realizing it. By the middle of the last century, however, a new and definite advance had taken place. It became increasingly clear that the Synoptic gospels and John could not be focused in the same picture. To look at Jesus through them simultaneously was, slightly to change the figure, like looking through a field glass containing quite different lenses. At first, even after this was seen, opinions differed as to which was the more valuable historically. No less a man than Schleiermacher valiantly but fruitlessly contended for John. Gradually, however, the tide turned in favor of the Synoptists. Jesus had not habitually discoursed upon the one great theme, himself, as John would suggest, but rather had been content to stress in parable and simple address the "kingdom," although quite conscious, of course, that he would be its eventual king.

During these years detailed and critical comparison of the three

Synoptists had gone on apace. Gradually, despite prolonged debate and decided—often acrimonious and bitter—opposition it became generally recognized that the riddle of the mutual relationship of Matthew, Mark, and Luke could be solved only on the assumption that Matthew and Luke had drawn substantially from Mark, rather than that they, as had been almost universally believed from the days of Augustine, had supplied the materials from which the later epitomizer had drawn. To his dying day Strauss had continued to level his heaviest, at least his noisiest, guns at the "lions of St. Mark," believing as he did that this attempt to subordinate Matthew to Mark was but an indirect attempt to reinstate John as against Matthew and to give aid and comfort to the rationalists, by recognizing the growth of what was to them the extraneous miraculous element. But his guns fell short. Today no one, whose opinion is of any concern, would question the priority of Mark.

But since it was evident that considerable common material remained in Matthew and Luke after the Markan material had been subtracted, a second source, largely composed of sayings, anterior to both Matthew and Luke, from which they had both drawn seemed obvious. This latter conclusion, which, like the matter of the priority of Mark, is today generally accepted, although to me it appears far less certain than the other, was based on the assumption that Luke and Matthew must have been independent, each of the other, else how could either, had he known the other, have refrained from using the rich material unique to each. How, furthermore, could either have so readily transformed and changed the other? Therefore, a common discourse source, generally dubbed Q, was felt to be the *sine qua non*. And great aid and comfort were found in the word of the shadowy Papias, faithfully preserved by Eusebius: "Matthew collected the oracles of the Lord in the Hebrew dialect, and each one translated them as best he could." A loose interpretation of the word "oracles" seemed to indicate that Papias was talking about this assumed discourse source. Thus to this purely hypothetical Q was given often the confusing title, the "Matthæan logia," or the "logia mentioned by Papias." These conclusions tended automatically to transfer to the Markan narrative and to the common discourse material the halo of historicity, and, it may be parenthetically remarked, since the human breast is apparently capable of about so much enthusiasm, this same enthusiasm which had successively embraced the omnigenous tradition of the Church, the four gospels, the three Synoptists, was now lavished upon the far smaller compass of Mark and Q. Here at least we could be certain; here we stood on solid ground.

But it is always at one's peril that he writes the word "finis" to any

investigation of a bygone age; at his dire peril when that investigation is concerned with as living and lively a subject as the birth of a religion. Soon queries were being raised regarding the quintessential Mark and Q; not prompted by the desire recklessly to destroy sacred treasures, but largely, I think, because, due to their significance, it was felt imperative that they tell their completest story.

In many ways this last chapter has been the most significant, although to many who have read it hastily it has appeared the most destructive. One thing has become increasingly clear. Even Mark, which had seemed to many the simplest of our gospels, is far from the loose compilation of Peter's sermon notes which, it has often been fondly believed, his helper Mark had made. Rather it has become gradually but increasingly clear that this gospel is the product of much study and theological conviction; that even the order of events is due neither to the artless desire to list them in their chronological sequence nor to sheer accident—pebbles crumbled or washed from different rocks, rolled together by the running stream of the years—but that the author of this gospel—no mere editor he—knew just why he arranged his materials as he did, just why, at least occasionally, he hewed them into the shape he did. Thus, to use a convenient figure, it is now all too clear that it is impossible to ride on one train without change from Mark 1:1 to Mark 16:8, not to mention 16:20. All along the way are transfer stations. The transfer from one coach to the next has been expedited; at times one does not even need to change trains, but a new crew is none the less in charge. So regarded, the Gospel of Mark takes on a new vigor, and is seen to be of immense significance in the question of the nature and development of early Christianity, but far less reliable as a source of knowledge of the doings of its central figure. For many decades no competent scholar has been ready to repeat the phrase, formerly so dear, and which is still today far too often repeated by the unthinking: The historicity of this event or that is attested by three (or four) witnesses; their combined testimony makes it accordingly certain. The fallacy of this statement is evident just as soon as the literary dependence of Matthew and Luke and John upon Mark is admitted. To be sure, all four record the story of the Feeding of the Five Thousand. Yes, but Mark is the source of this story. The others are dependent upon him. If A tells an incident to a congregation of five hundred people, and each of them repeats the story, after all, the repetition by the others, B to Z triple prime, adds no weight, popular opinion on this point to the contrary notwithstanding. An even more important example is ready to hand. By and large Matthew, Mark, and Luke give the outline of Jesus' life in essentially the same form. But this

seeming triple attestation is not threefold; that Matthew and Luke repeat the Markan order would give added credence to Mark only if Matthew and Luke could be regarded as having independent knowledge of the facts; and there is a growing feeling among scholars that this they do not have. The attempt to ascribe to either of them, directly or indirectly, a primitive or apostolic authority has not appeared to most scholars successful. And, as I have already suggested, it appears to me demonstrable that even though Mark's order was taken over widely by Matthew and Luke, Mark has arranged his materials as he has, not to produce a biographical sketch nor to conform to a definite chronology. It appears to me highly probable that when he put pen to paper he was attempting an essentially new task, a connected or continuous account. Probably there were few if any indications in the various separate stories or traditional words or sayings indicating when or where this had been said or done. For a generation or more these materials had been employed by missionary preachers in their sermons to the unconverted. In such usage the "when" and the "where," even if originally known, would have been of little homiletic value. Furthermore, during the course of the years of repetition is it conceivable that they would have remained unchanged, unmodified? Must they not have been constantly adapted to the particular point the preacher was then trying to buttress? What preacher of us but has used "illustrative material" in precisely this way and with the best conscience? And that this may not seem solely an argument from analogy, one need merely examine such a parable as that of the Entrusted Funds—the parable of the Talents as Matthew records it, of the Minæ (or Pounds) in its Lucan dress—to be convinced that such was the case. Nor is it perhaps without interest to observe that a third form of the same parable was also current with a significant alteration. Apparently some early Christians felt that the punishment of the man who, though he failed to make money with his trust, at least returned it intact, was scarcely commensurate with his guilt, and who accordingly rephrased the parable so that he received the criticism of being an unprofitable servant; it was another, who squandered the entrusted funds on harlots and flute girls, who received the severer penalty.

This may profitably be amplified, for the popular notion, so frequently asserted from the pulpit, that in the parables we have the best source for the *ipsissima verba* of Jesus, would scarcely seem confirmed by the evidence. Actually, when we do have a parable preserved by more than one writer, as in the case just referred to, or in that of the Wedding Supper, the striking thing is the readiness with which details were altered and the intrusion of material transforming the parable into a deliberate

and pondered allegory. It would be a rash man who would deny that the details in the Matthæan form of this latter parable (the Wedding Supper of the King's Son) came in after the destruction of Jerusalem in A. D. 70. People reject a dinner invitation given them by their king. The king is aroused to such a paroxysm of rage that he burns the city down (using armies to do it), but then a short time later invites more people (from the devastated area) to the palace which has apparently escaped the conflagration. Is it credible that so grotesque an addition as this was inserted save for the deliberate purpose of making it an allegory: God's punishment of Israel for its blindness? But whatever the purpose and reason for the changes, it can scarcely be denied that they have arisen.

But reverting to Mark. In his parable of the Wicked Vineyardmen precisely the same traces of allegory are to be seen, in the attitude of the owner of the vineyard who not only continued to send servant after servant despite their reception, but even sent his own son, and who then proceeds to kill the vineyardmen and to hand the vineyard over to others. The same remoteness from real life is seen in the unnatural notion of the vineyardmen that by such highhanded measures they could gain another's property. When one detects these palpable traces of allegory, he can scarcely deny that the parable is not as Jesus spoke it. In allegory naturalness of detail and congruence with real life are of minor concern. Thus Justice is depicted as blindfolded, but holding scales in which she is to weigh the evidence! Nor should the Markan interpretation of the significance of the parable of the Sower (i. e., of the Soils) be forgotten and the view of the purpose of all these parables which he puts in Jesus' mouth. The evidence would thus seem to me to indicate that, in addition to the natural alteration which could not be avoided during the fluid days of oral transmission, since they were by their very nature so valuable to Christian teachers for buttresses to their own views, time after time they were employed to illustrate this point or that, always with necessary adaptation. Thus the only safe working hypothesis, it would appear to me, is that the setting and occasion in which we find the parables occurring are probably purely artificial, while the adoption of this setting has almost surely occasioned further alteration in their form and phraseology. They may occasionally, indeed, reflect the kind of teaching Jesus uttered, but they cannot be used by us with any degree of confidence as a source for knowledge of the truths he wished to stress. Usually they are unintelligible without some clue to their original context, and this is precisely what we do not have.

This important, if chilling, warning that the evidence would seem

to warrant the view that the early Christians appear to have employed the widest freedom in their use of sources, especially parables, may with profit be carried a step farther. The same freedom is to be seen in the early Christian use of sayings of his, other than parables. The Gospel of John is a classic example of the freedom felt in the early days of the second century toward the words of Jesus. In this gospel there is no hesitation about composing long discourses after the manner approved by historians from the earliest days. Nor was this author unique among Christians. We have dug too wide a ditch between the Fourth Gospel and the Synoptists. They are very different, but their differences should not be unwarrantably magnified, nor blind us to the similarities. But this does not mean, as some protagonists for John have sought to prove, that John is less different and therefore more historical than we had supposed. May I be pardoned for the apparent bull: John is not more like the Synoptists than we had admitted; rather the Synoptists—notably Mark—are more like John than we had earlier supposed.

And confidence in this conclusion, that is, that early Christians stood a great deal less in awe of the verbal sanctity of the exact form of the words and deeds than we modern men believe they should, is heightened by a glance at the so-called apocryphal gospels, the occasional stray sayings (agrapha), and the variant readings which some gospel manuscripts preserve. The question of their comparative degree of fidelity to the utterances of Jesus contained in the canonical gospels is for the moment of relatively small importance. The significant thing is that they evince a vastly greater freedom in revamping and rephrasing traditional utterances in early times than we have sometimes recognized.

To conclude this part of the discussion a brief recapitulation will suffice: The very fact that sayings and frequent aphorisms were so valuable in later traditions in the church should warn us of the likelihood that they have often suffered a complete metamorphosis in the process. The parables by their very nature could scarcely be expected to have retained their original form during their years of use by zealous preachers. What evidence is there that before Mark there had been any attempt at connected narrative? By the time he wrote, the circumstances under which Jesus had said this or done that had been entirely forgotten. When he sought to perform his task, he found his freedom to utilize his material as seemed to him best uncramped by restrictions which might well have made the thought of deviation or alteration presumptuous. And finally, by this time the Old Testament had come to be regarded as Christian Scripture, written primarily for the true, that is, for the younger son. Whatever had happened had been prophesied; whatever had been prophe-

sied had happened. Jesus was referred to by the same title, Lord, commonly used for Jehovah. Every page was predictive of him. A Matthew could be sure that Jesus had been in Egypt, because did not Hosea expressly say, "Out of Egypt have I called my son"? Who but Jesus was really God's son? And a later writer could embroider that story, so that while in Egypt the infant Jesus met two bandits, one of whom was kind to him and his parents. In gratitude the baby had prophesied to the kindly bandit that they would later meet in Jerusalem and though he would be crucified with him he should yet be forgiven and received into heaven. One can scarcely doubt that some of the gospel stories are what can be called "enacted parables," that is, that from a saying of his a story was later produced in which he did as well as spoke; almost surely this is true of the Cursing of the Barren Fig Tree, not improbably of the Cleansing of the Temple. At other times did not the stories in the Old Testament of the exploits of this worthy or that—Moses or Elisha—provide the materials out of which, with no thought of falsification, revised stories emerged with Jesus now in the title rôle? Had not a slaughter of innocent babes by order of a wicked king followed the birth of Moses? Had not Elisha fed a hundred hungry men with twenty barley loaves, with much left over?

My reason for reviewing this story of the years in such detail is not the wish to tear the proverbial crutches from under the proverbial arms of the proverbial footsore and struggling Christian, but the desire to emphasize the fact that the quest through the years for that part of the story of stories of which we may say with confidence, "This at least is certain," has revealed all too clearly that we must be content with very little. To many it has seemed a tragic reduction of the size of the statue of Jesus; the figure once colossal has seemed to shrink not merely to heroic but to life size. And there is no use in disguising facts by mouth-filling but empty words. In 1635 Jeremy Taylor could write a ponderous volume entitled: "The Great Exemplar of Sanctity and Holy Life according to the Christian Institutions; Described in the History of the Life and Death of the Ever-Blessed Jesus Christ, the Saviour of the World; With Considerations and Discourses upon the Several Parts of the Story, and Prayers fitted to the Several Discourses." As late as 1872 Theodore Keim could write a massive Life that requires six volumes for its English translation. Today, as I remarked in my opening sentence, it is a hopeless task to attempt to write a life or biography. It has not infrequently been said that there does not exist enough trustworthy data to write an obituary notice. At first blush this latter statement seems a brutal overemphasis. If the obituary notice, however, is to be made up of exactly

chronicled and dated doings and exactly quoted sayings, I think we should all have to admit that it would be impossible to write such an account as would be commensurate with the one we sought to commemorate.

But this does not mean that we are left looking back into empty space. Certainly it does not mean that the traditional pictures are the untrue manufacture of mendacious men. To my mind, not only does the evidence entirely fail to justify the occasional loose and ill-advised statement that Jesus is a mere myth, that he never lived, but was the product of spontaneous combustion, so to speak, Jewish Messianism in contact with the disillusioned, bankrupt but wistful Græco-Roman world; but it fails to reduce in size or significance the central figure. He was not what we have sometimes believed—that figure has vanished like smoke, for he never had existence. The Jesus of the stained glass windows, in costly robes of white and royal purple, without the slightest sign of dust or toil, with fair hair, each lock carefully in place above a gentle, womanish (distinctly non-Semitic) face—that Jesus has gone, for he never had existence save in artists' imagination. The Jesus, made in our own image who conveniently answered all our questions and though he lived in Palestine in the first century appeared to be principally concerned with the America of the twentieth—that Jesus has gone, for he never had existence save in preachers' brains. But a tremendous and potent figure did live; his biography was written not on pages of skins with ink of gall, but in the lives of those among whom he moved; who, whether he changed water into wine or not, changed men of water into men of iron, men of sand into men of rock; whether he stilled a storm on Galilee's lake or not, stilled storms in his own breast and in those of his disciples and their spiritual kin for two thousand years; whether he drove out traders from Zion's temple or not, has cracked his lash at iniquity and avarice and greed and hate in those temples which his great apostle said were not made with hands; whether he rode into Jerusalem in sorry triumph but to die, rides in mighty triumph in our hearts today, and though dead could inspire in the hearts of those who knew him best the conviction that not death but he had triumphed, and who quietly with none to shout "Hallelujah," reentered Jerusalem's street, scornful of their fate, with a confidence and poise that could not be stayed until proud Rome bowed in obeisance. That figure remains, and a glorious one it is. We cannot see it in all detail; like the children of Israel, our eyes are holden. We, like Paul, can see only as in a mirror darkly. When we let him who was of the first century live in the first century, we need not fear that he will slip through our fingers. He will not put on our garb, will not parade before our eyes; but he will live in us as he has in every

generation of men. I fancy that many of his views would seem to us ultrastrange could we have met him face to face and have heard him talk; I fear that his words would have moved some of us to that same fury which led his hearers in Zion of old to shriek their "Crucify, crucify." But the way he met his problems; the stedfastness in which he walked his path—those qualities echo down through the ages. He does not tell us how to solve our problems. He did not solve them for us. But the spirit in which he solved his very different ones provides a mighty help to us as we face ours.

And that brings me to my last point, and one which I believe is terribly important, though it can be stated very briefly. We do not know much about his actual life. We do not know when he was born, can only guess when he died, have no idea how long his ministry was. The outline of that ministry is very vague. Occasional words of his we have, but rarely do we know under what circumstances he spoke them. To many this paucity of information is well-nigh tragic. The early Christians felt that way and tried to fill in the hidden years with their grotesque stories of the vengeful, malignant little wonder-worker wreaking his spleen on all who stood in his path, on all who spoiled his mud sparrows. We turn away from these apocryphal gospels with a sigh. Those authors, long in their unmarked graves, did, however, what so many of their critics still do: they laid hold of the one unessential, trivial quality in the stories—yes, I may venture to say, in his nature—and made it all-effacing. Still folk sigh, "Oh, that we knew more about him!" My answer is this: I am convinced that it is a very fortunate thing that we do not. Far from it being a misfortune that though in the background of the stories we always see the majestic master of history, we cannot see him in full detail—far from this a misfortune, it is a veritable blessing of God. No greater blight upon the race could have come than had we a full and complete picture of all he had done, all he had said. I do not mean, as may be at first imagined, that that knowledge would have alienated us, would have caused us to lose our awe and admiration. No, not that; something far worse. It would have deprived us of the chance of being his disciples, for it would have killed our inner life. Had we this picture in full detail, all our problems would have been solved for us. How could any man who calls him "Lord" have ventured to solve a problem in a manner different from the way he had solved it? Why ponder its solution: Had not the Lord spoken? Not thought but blind obedience—that would be all. No man who is content to make carbon tracings of the world's masterpieces is, or can ever hope to be, an artist. He must make his own attempts, sorry and crude though they be. So

in life. We must make our own decisions, and must make them unafraid. Of course, the wise man—better said, the man who is not a fool—will take advice, will profit by the failures and successes of others; in ninety cases out of a hundred perhaps will find the judgments of the majority generally right. "They were all out of step but Jim" is somewhat rare. But there are cases when that jingle is not funny but profoundly true. Then Jim must make his decisions as seems to him right, let the heavens fall. And those occasions come to us more frequently than we realize. When we meet them, and solve our problems as we believe right, regardless of what the cost—then we grow. That is apparently what Jesus did, and he went to a cross rather than yield to the voice of expediency or of tradition. But if before our eyes we had a complete and perfect pattern, those all-important moments would never be for us. Thus the Lord of life would be for us the path of death. God does move in mysterious ways, his wonders to perform.

And he told them a parable saying: And it came to pass some years ago when the nations of the world were stirred by wars and rumors of wars that a certain young American naval officer chanced to be with his ship in the seaport town of Brest in France. And although that man had been many days upon the North Atlantic and now was privileged to spend a few hours ashore, his heart did not lead him to go with some of his fellow officers to the wine shops and places of divertissement, for he had the desire to see as much of the Old World as the space of a few short days would permit. And it came to pass that he had heard of a great religious shrine that had been builded years before, not many hours distant from that harbor town. So he said to himself: "I will go and behold the wonders of this sanctuary of Pont Chateau of which strange rumors have come to me." And it chanced that that same hour a caravan was leaving for that very shrine. So he hied himself to it and was fortunate enough to obtain a place in the wagon. After they had driven many kilometers the clouds began to gather, and the rain began to fall as only in maritime France in the rainy season it can fall. And when they came to the shrine, hallowed in the hearts of the faithful, many of those in the caravan looked out, and lo it would be necessary to go on foot, for the way was rough and overgrown. And the grass stood nearly waist-high, and it was sodden with the rain. Then answered many of the company and said, "Behold it is raining outside and the walk will be unpleasant. Let us remain here and smoke our cigarettes at ease. It will be possible to purchase picture cards of yon statues in the shops of Brest. Will it not be impossible in this downpour to make our own pictures? Let us go on and find a convenient inn and drink cognac." But the

young man would not be dissuaded, and amid the jibes of his fellows did descend from the wagon, and, while his companions remained at ease, he betook himself by foot through the grass and the rain. And so at length he came to the source of his quest, and lo before his wondering eyes he saw gleaming in marble the Passion of his Lord. And there was Pilate's judgment hall, the tessellated pavement and the bema; there he saw the Lord arraigned amidst his enemies. And he followed the Via Dolorosa, upon which, in the language of the faithful, were the Stations of the Cross. And he marveled as he beheld the lifelike forms of those who in that fatal day had played their little part. And his heart was sore within him. And finally he reached the wind-swept hill, gazed at the three crosses and their agonized forms; then went to the tomb, and lo it was all very real. Finally he came to the last station, for it was the place of ascension. On the one hand stood the group of disciples, on the other, the faithful women. In the midst was Jesus rising from the earth even unto heaven. And the young man was strangely moved, even though he was not wont to be impressed by outward pomp and display. And he found that his attention was not directed so much to the central figure as to the expressions on the faces of the watchers, the disciples on the one hand, and the women on the other. For lo their expressions were very different. Upon the faces of the men were sorrow and regret, and their eyes were downcast. It was as if they were looking back to the days that were past, and their hearts were sore within them. The fellowship of the past months was now broken; those days were beyond recall. It was as if they were saying, "Dost thou thus leave us? We have left all to follow thee. Carest thou not that we sorrow?" But upon the faces of the women shone a light of heavenly happiness. It was as if they were seeing the gates of paradise standing open, the angels waiting to welcome their Lord. And their faces did shine. And to the young man standing bareheaded, unmindful of the rain, it seemed that the lips of the women in marble were moving and that he could hear their words: "We are so happy that the day of thy exaltation is at hand. Go, thrice blessed of the Father. Go to thy glorious estate." And the young man left that place, but the meaning of it glowed within him, and he knew that he had been standing upon holy ground. And he said to himself, "This day have I seen a great sight, and the Lord hath been gracious to vouchsafe unto me a word that will follow me all the days of my life." And when he joined his fellows, who had been all the while in comfort, sheltered as they were from the wind and the rain, and when they did rudely remark upon the sodden nature of his raiment, he answered them not a word, for he was strangely silent. He that hath ears to hear, let him hear.

The old and the new. Vain regrets, joyful anticipations. Many miss the familiar lineaments; the accustomed landmarks seem to have been rudely removed. All they can see is the loss, the yawning hole from which the tree has been removed. The patient and reverent attempt through the years to see that life of lives as it was, to let that imperious voice sound again in our ears with the same note of authority that rang out over Galilee and Judea nineteen centuries ago—all this they fail to see. Like Mary in the garden, they raise their doleful wail, "They have taken away my Lord, and I know not where they have laid him." I could wish that they could have the experience of the young naval officer in the rain-drenched fields of Pont Chateau. They look to the past and they see the pictures of Christ in the stained glass windows of old theologies fading further and further into the distance. And their hearts are heavy. They fail to realize the fulfilment of the promise which Jesus is said to have given to his followers: "If I go, I shall not leave you comfortless."

In the Fourth Gospel is a haunting picture which our age could well ponder. It is Easter morning. Mary has come out early into the garden. She has come to the tomb to weep over the dead body of Jesus. And the body is not to be found. Even the word of the angel brings no comfort. Her tears of regret, of longing for the past which has gone never to return, so blind her eyes that she fails to realize that she is not alone. Her piteous lament is raised, "They have taken away my Lord, and I know not where they have laid him." And all she needed to do was to turn around, to wipe the blinding tears from her eyes, to realize that behind her, with hand raised to bless her, stood the one whom she had been bewailing as taken from her, alive, triumphant, never to be vanquished.

Brethren in the ministry of the Lord Jesus Christ, can there be a greater demand laid upon us than to see this vision ourselves and to make it possible for those to whom we minister?

ECUMENICITY IN THE LIGHT OF HISTORY

JOHN T. McNEILL

Our title stresses a clumsy word which is coming to more and more frequent utterance on the lips of Christians in the twentieth century. The word itself has been less familiar in former centuries, but the idea which it conveys has always had some degree of prominence in the Christian doctrine of the church. It has, indeed, always stood near the center of the church's thought about herself.

"Ecumenicity" is an English noun form from *œcumenicus,* the Latin for the Greek adjective *οἰκουμενικός*. The latter is a general adjectival form related to *οἰκουμένη*, an adjective usually qualifying *γῆ* (the earth) but frequently used without *γῆ* as a noun signifying the whole inhabited world. Thus in Psalm 90:2 "or ever Thou hadst formed the earth and the world" the Septuagint has for "אֶרֶץ," "*γῆν*" and for "תֵּבֵל" "*τῆν οἰκουμένην.*" The *oikoumené* is here the whole inhabited world as distinct, perhaps, from the civilized world, the emphasis being on unlimited extension within the world. The word came also to bear a reference to the Roman Empire. When Nero regarded his empire as "ecumenical," we may infer that the emperor's pretensions were to rule over all men, not that he supposed the existing empire to be world-wide. Yet the simple application of the word to the area of the far-flung empire was made by some in imperial times.

"Ecumenicity" is not a New Testament word, but the idea of ecumenicity is certainly contained and stressed in the New Testament. These words are attributed to Jesus: "And this gospel of the kingdom shall be preached in all the world for a witness unto all the nations" (Matt. 24:18). "Verily I say unto you, wheresoever this gospel shall be preached in the whole world, there shall also this . . . be told" (Matt. 26:13). "Go ye therefore and teach all nations baptizing them . . ." (Matt. 28:19). When Matthew set down these living words, Luke had already recorded the scene of Pentecost, where the many languages heard and understood by "Jews, devout men out of every nation under heaven," symbolize the limitless outreach of the new religion.

The great task of making known the good news to all nations was impressively initiated in the labors of St. Paul. The ecumenical element in Paul's thought of the church has been convincingly set forth by Professor S. MacLean Gilmour [1]. "The Christian community," Doctor

[1] "Church Consciousness in the Letters of Paul," *Journal of Religion,* XVIII (1938), 289-302.

Gilmour writes, "was more for him than a conglomerate of separate units. He thought in terms of the *οἰκουμένη*, the inhabited world practically coextensive with the Roman Empire. . . He thought of the Christian message and the Christian church against the background of the known world." Paul's ecumenicity may have been as Gilmour suggests in some way related to the bounds of the Empire; but he declared himself "the apostle of the Gentiles," and Luke makes him proclaim at Athens, in the name of a God who "hath made of one all nations of men," repentance to "all men everywhere." Again, the ecumenical nature of the early Christian faith finds testimony in the immortal phrase of the Fourth Evangelist: "God so loved the world."

Early Christianity took the world for its parish. A century after Pentecost the unknown writer of the *Epistle to Diognetus* could see the Christian church as a universal leaven in human life: "Christians are in the world as the soul is in the body." And Justin Martyr in his *Dialogue with Trypho* boasted that in contrast to the Jews, who were not spread to all nations, Christians were to be found everywhere. "There is not a single race of men, whether among barbarians or Greeks, or by whatever name they may be called, of those who live in wagons and are called nomads or of herdsmen living in huts, among whom prayers and thanksgivings are not offered in the name of the crucified Jesus to the Father and Maker of all things." The boast was some centuries premature: but it attests the ecumenical spirit, we may say the ecumenical emotion, that prevailed in the advancing church. Irenæus too, ardent missionary as he was, spoke of the church "scattered throughout the whole world," yet guarding her faith "as if she dwelt in one house";[2] while Tertullian enumerates a long list of nations in which Christ reigns, including "regions of the Britons unreached (*inacessa*) by the Romans, subjugated to Christ."[3]

The Fathers continued even after the conversion of the Empire to think of Christianity as wider than the Empire; and indeed it was carried with high success beyond the outposts of the Roman power—for example, to Ireland and to India.

It is not in the historic use of the word "ecumenical" that we see the most significant expression of the idea. This fact is manifest not only in such passages as I have cited, which reveal the idea without the word, but also in certain celebrated disputes over the use of the word itself. The honorific title "Ecumenical Patriarch" was applied to bishops of Constantinople as early as 533 by Justinian. The emperor no doubt

[2] *Adv. Haeres,* I, 10, 3.
[3] *Adv. Jud.* 7.

thought of the word in the sense in which it had been used by emperors before him, i. e., "Empire-wide in sway." But when John the Faster in 587 began to use the title "Ecumenical Bishop," it was bitterly resented in Rome, and Gregory the Great in 595 rebuked John for his presumption—"a contradiction to the grace poured out to all in common." Not even Peter, Paul, or John "had ever wished to call himself universal." [4] The word seized upon by one bishop thus became a mark of the anti-Christian spirit of pride, and a divisive element in the universal church. If Gregory used the designation "Servus servorum Dei" in some of his letters, apparently even when he was a deacon, he did not deny to others the use of the same expression. John the Deacon says Gregory used it to humble John the Faster, but this is apparently not the case. It was used by such bishops as Boniface the missionary and John of Ravenna; also by rulers such as Henry III. It was only in the twelfth century that this phrase became a regular papal title claiming no less than John the Faster had claimed of supremacy in the church.

The word "ecumenical" has perhaps its most familiar historical use in association with the universal councils of the church. Probably it is true to say that none of these councils was justly representative of all areas of the church. Some like Nicæa, were prevailingly Greek; some were prevailingly Western, and in none was the membership carefully apportioned to all nations and territories. We therefore, at the best, use the term "ecumenical" in this connection with some modification of its strict meaning. Moreover, the determination of a council's title to be considered ecumenical was affected by theological and ecclesiastical interests. The Roman Church lays it down that an ecumenical council is called by the pope or by the emperor with his consent. There is, in fact, no evidence that the pope either convoked, or consented in advance to the convocation of, any of the first five of the accepted ecumenical councils. In absence of evidence their assent to, or initiation of, the call to the council has been assumed. Hosius of Cordova, for example, is held to have been acting as Pope Sylvester's agent in promoting the Council of Nicæa. Nor is its convocation the sole determining factor in the ecumenicity of a council. Some councils, such as the infamous "Latrocinium" (Ephesus 449), were duly called but failed for other reasons, such as violent coercion, to qualify as ecumenical. It is assumed by Rome that the decisions of an ecumenical council have no binding force until they are confirmed by the pope.

There are twenty councils, from Nicæa to the Vatican, held to be ecumenical by the Roman Church. Of these, the Greek Church accepts

[4] C. Mirbt, *Quellen zur Geschichte des Papsttums*, p. 209.

only the first seven, to Constantinople 787. The Anglican Church, as indicated by the Lambeth Conference of 1867, and by a statement of Archbishop Benson, 1889, gives full assent only to the first four, Nicæa, Constantinople 381, Ephesus 431 and Chalcedon 451. In all these cases the word "ecumenical" is given a sense at variance from its original meaning, to accord with a church's doctrinal preferences. It comes to mean little more than "authoritative for us," "acceptable to us."

The word "catholic" absorbed the idea of ecumenicity so far as that idea was adopted by the medieval church; and "catholicity" was held to be bounded by the Roman obedience. The *Dictatus Papæ,* now recognized as a document of Hildebrand's authorship, puts the proposition squarely: "Quod Catholicus non habeatur qui non concordat Romanæ ecclesiæ." (That he is not to be held a Catholic who is out of agreement with the Roman Church.) The Conciliarists of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries appealed for a reform that would have decentralized the church and constructed a system of representative government, subjecting all, the pope included, to the decisions of elective assemblies. This would have changed the then favorite meaning of the word "Catholic" and annulled the peculiar claim of Roman obedience. The Dominican theologian, John of Paris, whom we should probably regard as the earliest of the Conciliarists, in a treatise on *The Power of Pope and King* (1302) suggested that the pope should be surrounded by counselors, "a number of whom would be elected by each province and from each province, that, so, all might have their part in the government of the church." For Marsiglio of Padua in his *Defender of Peace* (1324) the church is the organic society of all believers (universitas fidelium) and the government of it is properly vested in a council chosen "from all the provinces or notable communities of the world," to represent the total society (universitatis fidelium repræsentantes). Further, the Conciliarists, like the Protestant Reformers after them, affirmed the headship of Christ against that of the pope, a principle congenial to ecumenicity. But they failed to lay any great emphasis upon this theme. For most of them, the church would have remained essentially a Western church admitting no obligation to consider in a fraternal spirit the principles of Eastern Orthodoxy.

The sixteenth century Reformers, engaged as they were in a warfare against the papacy, proclaimed Christ's headship and employed the word "catholic" in a world-embracing and ecumenical sense. Luther, in learned battle with John Eck at Leipzig in 1519, assailed the claim of papal monarchy. "There is a monarchy in the church militant," he declared, "its head is not a man but Christ himself." His opponent held

that the Greek Christians by declining obedience to Rome had become exiles from the faith. Not so, declared Luther, "for Christ received from the Father as his possession and inheritance, not half of the Roman territory but all the ends of the earth." [5]

Nearly a year later, in *The Papacy at Rome,* a tract addressed to a Leipzig opponent, Alveld, Luther uses the phraseology of the Apostles' Creed to show "that the Holy Church is not bound to Rome, but is as wide as the world, the assembly of those of one faith, a spiritual and not a bodily thing." Invisible and universal, it has its external marks in the Word and Sacraments. Luther's conception of the true church as invisible is never absolute, nor divorced from that of a reformed visible church. In controversy with Zwinglian opponents on the Lord's Supper, he cited as authoritative, "the faith of the entire holy Christian Church . . . for more than fifteen hundred years throughout the whole world." He regarded his own statements as Catholic and in his reply to the Bull *Exsurge Domine* (1520), accused the papists of placing under condemnation "what is true, catholic and edifying." [6]

For Calvin the visible church is "the whole multitude of mankind scattered throughout the world who profess to worship one God and Christ, who by Baptism are initiated into the faith; by partaking of the Lord's Supper profess unity in true doctrine and charity" . . . we are under obligation "to cultivate the communion" of this universal visible church. In the *Geneva Catechism,* children were taught that the word "catholic" in the creed means that under Christ's headship "there are not several churches but one only, which is extended throughout the whole world" (per totum orbem diffusa). Calvin exults in the revival of Christianity begun by Luther, and over the sons and daughters to be born to the church "in every corner of the world." Rome's special claims, he affirms, have "severed the nerves of that holy communion which ought to exist among the faithful." Protestants are to build up the ruins of the church which Rome has wrecked.[7]

The concept of ecumenicity has always been robust in Augustinianism even in periods when it was most dominated by state power. Cranmer drew Lutheran and Reformed theologians to his side and sought a consensus of the churches. He regarded the Anglican Church not as a

[5] O. Seitz, *Der authentische Text der Leipziger Disputation (1519)* Berlin, 1903, pp. 58, 70. W. H. T. Dau renders "medium terræ Romanæ," "the center of the Roman country." *The Leipzig Debate, 1519,* St. Louis, 1919, p. 149. I take "medium" in the not uncommon late Latin sense of "half" on the view that Luther is referring to the church obedient to Rome as extending over the western half of the area of the ancient Rome Empire. For further remarks on the clash of Luther and Eck over the Roman obedience, see my *Unitive Protestantism,* New York, 1930, pp. 66f.

[6] *Unitive Protestantism,* pp. 64f, with citations.

[7] Cf. *Unitive Protestantism,* pp. 68ff.

merely insular or national entity, but a part of the catholic and universal church. John Jewel, the scholarly apologist of the Church of England in the early years of Elizabeth's reign, eloquently challenged the supporters of the papacy to cite authorities for their claims from the fathers of the first six centuries,[8] and confounded his opponents with a battery of patristic texts. In language resembling that of Calvin he declared: "We believe that there is one church of God . . . that it is catholic and universal and dispersed throughout the whole world . . . that Christ alone is the head of this body." [9] "The world is greater than Rome" (orbis maior est urbe), he quotes from Jerome. Denying to popes the title "Universal Bishop" which his adversary, Harding, attempted to maintain from the ancient church, Jewel calls attention to the difference between that expression and "bishop of the universal church." Every godly bishop is a bishop of the universal church; and Chrysostom, he points out, urged clergy and people: "universæ ecclesiæ . . . curam geramus"—let us care for the church universal.[10]

The leaders of Reformation thought were far from adopting a merely national or parochial conception of the church. They were insistent in affirming a catholic ideal, and took every occasion to deny the genuine catholicity of their opponents. Rome's very claims of authority they represented as a badge of an uncatholic and unecumenical spirit. They refused the name "catholic" to the Church of Rome and claimed the adjective for their own principles. It is not our interest here to comment on their judgment of the papacy and its defenders. It is sufficient to note their advocacy of an ecumenical concept of Christianity.

Our present study will not attempt to follow the expression of the note of ecumenicity through the evolution of Protestant theology. Suffice it to say that the ecumenical ideal has never passed out of recognition in the thought of Protestantism. It is to be distinguished from the principle of corporate unity. It is possible to hold a doctrine of ecumenicity without pressing for close organic unity. The logical corollaries of ecumenicity are rather cooperation and mutual charity, probably involving intercommunion, than unification of ecclesiastical government. Yet the ecumenical spirit cannot be sectarian, bigoted or denominationalistic; union is vastly more congenial to it than division. There have been many forerunners of the twentieth century ecumenical movement which is a movement for understanding, spiritual reciprocity and practical cooperation between the churches of all lands.

[8] *Works of John Jewel,* ed. John Ayre, I (Parker Society Publications XXIII), pp 3-25.
[9] *Op. cit.* III, 59 (repeated p. 265).
[10] *Op. cit.* I, 373, 426f.

It seems to be largely forgotten that a vital doctrine of ecumenicity finds utterance in nearly all the Protestant confessions of faith. A few passages may be cited in illustration:

The *Augsburg Confession* (1530) was prepared in the special political crisis of an important Imperial Diet, and the circumstances were not calculated to elicit stress on the doctrine of ecumenicity. Yet that doctrine is embodied in it. The *Augustana* begins by reciting the "Three Catholic or Ecumenical Creeds" (Apostles', Nicene, Athanasian). It asserts (Article VII) the "una sancta ecclesia" (ein heilige Christliche Kirche), and (VIII) defines the church as the congregation (Versammlung) of the saints and true believers. It claims (XXII) not to be divergent from the teaching of "the Catholic church or even of the Roman church so far as that church is known from the writings of the fathers." A goodly number of the Church Fathers are cited and quoted in the *Augustana*. After enumerating the abuses of the Roman Church, the framers of the Confession add a conclusion in which they protest that they stand on the ground of Scripture and "the holy, universal and catholic Christian church" (nicht halten zuwider Gottes Wort oder der heiligen Gemeinen und Catholica Christichen Kirchen).[11]

It was in the *Second Helvetic Confession* (1562-1566) that German Swiss Protestantism first set forth with any fulness its official doctrine of the church. This Confession is addressed to sister churches, "the holy churches of Germany, France, England and other nations of the Christian world," with whom the Swiss desire unity, peace, concord and charity. They hope to be taken for Catholics and Christians, not heretics. The Confession has an extended chapter (XVII) on the "Catholic and holy church of God." The church is "the assembly of all the faithful called out of the world, the communion of all saints, who are all citizens of one city and Christ is the one shepherd of a universal flock." Sectarians, such as the Donatists belonging to a corner of Africa, are condemned; and with them the Roman Church which regards itself alone as Catholic. The church militant has her particular churches, "but all belong (referuntur) to the unity of the Catholic Church."

The *Belgic Confession* of 1561 (with later versions) teaches (XXVII) that the "one only catholic or universal church" has been from the beginning and will be to the end of the world. It is "not confined, bound or limited to a certain place or to certain persons, but is spread and dispersed over the whole world" (per totum mundum sparsa et diffusa) (répandue et dispersée par tout le monde) yet united in faith.

[11] Kapler's text, *Die Bekenntnisschriften der evangelish-lutherischen Kirche*, Göttingen, 1930, p. 136.

It must be carefully distinguished from "sects which call themselves the church."[12]

The Scottish Confession of 1560 makes no such clear statement of the ecumenicity of the visible church; but in 1566 the Scots approved the Second Helvetic Confession whose teaching we have noted. In 1645 they adopted the *Form of Presbyterial Church Government,* framed at Westminster, which states: "There is one general church visible held forth in the New Testament. . . Particular visible churches, members of the general church, are also held forth in the New Testament." In 1647 the Scots adopted the *Westminster Confession* which contains the clause (Ch. XXV), "The visible church which is also catholic or universal under the gospel (not confined to one nation as under the law) consists of all those throughout the whole world that profess the true religion, and of their children."[13]

The *Hungarian Reformed Confession* of 1562 recognizes the "one church catholic, i. e., universal, so called because the faithful are scattered through the whole world." The framers do not repudiate the ancient canons of the fathers. "We never cease to insist assiduously that we are not contemners of the lawful councils and the ancient canons, as some calumniously prate of us."[14]

The Bohemian Confession of 1609 calls the Catholic Church, "that holy church which is militant in the present world, a certain communion and Christian *respublica* spread far and wide through the whole world, made up of those of all nations, tribes, tongues, and of every condition and of both sexes." So long as the church is "in the vast area of this world," the good are mingled with the bad in its membership "as in one heap wheat is mixed with chaff."[15]

It is to be observed in these confessions that we are faced by the reality of the visible and defective no less than of the invisible and perfect church, and that this visible church is of world extent, ecumenical. From the starting point of the Protestant confessions, then, we need not be in the least surprised at the contemporary interest in ecumenicity in Protestantism. This has, indeed, been a constant element in Protestantism, and the idea has entered into the statements of Protestant groups of a more leftist type of polity. Thus the Congregationalists in the Savoy Declaration (1658)[16] merely rephrased the Westminster Confession on this topic; and the National Council of Congregational Churches meeting

[12] P. Schaff, *Creeds of Christendom,* III, 417.
[13] Schaff, *Op. cit.,* III, 657.
[14] E. F. K. Müller, *Die Bekenntnisschriften der Reformierten Kirche,* pp. 426ff.
[15] Müller, *Op. cit.,* p. 471.
[16] Schaff, *Op. cit.* III, 721.

in Boston in 1865 rejoiced in fellowship with all who "work to restore unity to the divided church." "Thus," they declare, "recognizing the unity of the church of Christ in all the world, and knowing that we are but one branch of Christ's people . . . we extend to all believers the hand of Christian fellowship . . . we declare that we will cooperate with all who hold these truths . . . with them we will go into all the world and preach the gospel. . ." [17]

The Baptists at Philadelphia, in 1688, revised the Savoy Declaration, retaining the note of ecumenicity, and the confession of the Free-will Baptists of America (1834-1868) echoes the old phrase, "the whole body of Christians throughout the world." [18]

Nothing has better expressed the ecumenicity of Christianity than the growth of Protestant missionary enterprises from the days of Francke and Zinzendorf. The missionary movement has engaged the devotion of not a few rationalistic liberals as well as of evangelicals in whom the urge to missions was a simple acceptance of a divine scriptural injunction. It has been joined alike by predestinarians and exponents of free will and by the high churchmen and puritans of all the denominations. It has exhibited anew the expansive vigor of Christianity and its refusal to rest within any limits narrower than the confines of the human race. It has called into existence indigenous churches in regions hitherto closed to Christianity. It has given rise to social energies in people long quiescent. Its impact upon history is a thing quite incalculable. Its methods have been varied and often revised, and it has of late been reconsidering them with special care. It needs not only to renovate its organization but also to fix new world objectives and adapt all its procedures in the light of new developments in politics and communication.

On this matter of its world relationship, Protestantism has too often allowed principles and practice to drift far apart. It is having a late and rude awakening from its relative acquiescence in a condition of sectionalism and sectarianism. It has allowed nationalistic interests to operate without a vigorous moral criticism from the standpoint of religious supernationalism. If we rightly understood the portents of current events we should see that nationalism as a system of numerous stable states is breaking down. It appears to be yielding to an antireligious supernationalism that proceeds by terrorizing or devastating numerically weak nations one by one. It is held by some that Christianity has no answer to it save martyrdom. But no other force than Christianity has

[17] Schaff, *Op. cit.* III, 735.
[18] Schaff, *Op. cit.* III, 738-755.

in the long run any answer to it whatever. If the democracies were united and armed they might defeat it, but in the process they would have to go so far toward imitating it that religious and moral sanctions would well-nigh perish.

It may be that there is still opportunity for Christianity to play not purely a martyr rôle but an active one amid the world tumult. New and hostile forces dispute its advance on every front, but there is no proof that its own expansive force is spent. Ours is an ambitious religion, and in the face of armed brutality many of its adherents today feel a new consciousness of its universal mission.

We need to seize upon the new instrumentalities for ecumenical fraternalism that are within our grasp. World-encircling Christian broadcasts might prove an incalculably valuable agency. A world school of divinity could be established in which selected students from all continents would meet similarly selected scholars and intellectual leaders. An efficient religious news service for the world would seem a possibility. International interchange of preachers could with advantage become a normal practice. If the ecumenical movement possesses enough spiritual and moral vigor to maintain its course despite the hostile pressures of the contemporary world, it may soon take to its service these and other instruments of power and begin to challenge humanity anew with a call to conversion from the ways of death.

WELSH HYMNODY IN THE UNITED STATES

BERTRAM CROCKER

It is a recognized fact that the Welsh made great contributions in the development of many American industries. In the early days of anthracite coal mining, Welsh miners came to this country in thousands. The same thing was true in the slate quarrying of Pennsylvania, and the iron industries in centers such as Bethlehem and Pittsburgh.

It was natural for these workmen and their families to bring their Welsh culture with them. Indeed, it might even be said there sprang up in the United States something that would be "forever Wales." In some sections, such as Shenandoah, Mahanoy City, Shamokin, and the Lackawanna Valley in Pennsylvania, there is more Welsh spoken even today than there is in many sections of South Wales. It should not be difficult, then, for us to realize that these people, who found it a task to give up the language of the homeland, must have found it impossible to give up the one thing that is most truly characteristic of the Welsh people—their hymn singing.

It has been said, in speaking of the various British peoples, that if you get four Englishmen together you have a game of whist, four Irishmen a political argument, but four Welshmen always make a singing quartet. It is true that, even though soccer and rugby are infinitely popular in Wales, it is usually much easier to organize a singing festival than an athletic tournament. That is equally true of the American Welsh, for wherever there are Welsh people there is bound to be singing, as is borne out by the many Gymanfa Ganu in Welsh centers such as Cleveland, Pittsburgh, Scranton, and Racine.

If the Welsh are a singing nation, it is just as true that they are an intensely religious people. After their arrival in the New World they soon organized their own churches—usually growing into Welsh Presbyterian or Welsh Congregational groups. This is somewhat difficult to understand to the Welshman coming from the sections of Wales where the Baptist denomination predominates.

With the passing of the years, and the advent of new generations, the Welsh churches in the United States are gradually giving up the use of Welsh as the language of worship. But that by no means should convey the impression that Welsh hymn singing is losing its hold, for, while English words are sung, the musical background is usually a tune from the "Old Country" hymn-book. The question at once arises,

"Doesn't it confuse them to sing tunes that are not in the hymn-book?" The answer is definitely and emphatically, "No," for the Welsh people never depend upon crutches in their singing. They *learn* their songs and hymns, and are, therefore, able to sing all the standard hymns in four-part harmony—and without the aid of the printed page. Without doubt, that is one of the secrets of the power of their hymn singing.

As was true of so many things in church life, the revival-evangelist type of American preacher was about the first to recognize the deep intensity of the Welsh hymns. They seemed to carry the congregation away as they were being sung. What a fine medium for an evangelistic campaign! Thus, Welsh hymns first began to appear in the gospel song-books—tunes such as Diadem, Aberystwyth, Bryn Calfaria, Hyfrydol. However, it did not take long for the revivalists to learn that Welsh hymn singing is not so much a matter of mob hymn singing, of notes, nor even proper technique, but a matter of psychology. Just as it takes Negroes really to sing the great Spirituals, so it takes Welsh people, with their own peculiar psychological background, to sing properly the typically Welsh hymns. This is a serious difficulty which American hymn-book compilers have not anticipated, or have chosen to ignore.

Some years ago the Presbyterian denomination held a conference in Wales. During its progress the American visitors were aroused to extreme enthusiasm upon hearing the singing of the great Welsh hymns. Not long afterwards a committee was appointed to compile a new denominational hymnal which, in most respects, proved to be a worthy and admirable piece of work. It includes most of the standard hymns of the church, and they have been chosen from the hymnody of various Christian nations. Among them are about twenty-five "Welsh" tunes, but it is safe to say that most of them are not in common usage in Wales, and few are in any way typical. Welsh preachers and hymnodists have been known to ask, "Where were they dug up?" This is more serious than might at first appear, for not only have many Welsh churches refused to accept the hymnal, but Welsh hymnodists feel that a grave injustice has been done Welsh hymnody.

More recently the *Service Hymnal* was published by a house in Chicago. It contains about six Welsh tunes. These tunes *are* representative in a larger measure, but that, of itself, is not enough. For example, one of the tunes is PENLAN, by David Jenkins, a tune which, set to the words, "O Jesus, I have promised to serve Thee to the end," has in recent years swept throughout South Wales. This is an exceptionally fine hymn, for the cadence of the musical score is especially fitted to the sentiment of the poem.

In the *Service Hymnal,* however, PENLAN is wedded to

"Today Thy mercy calls me to wash away my sin;
However great my trespass, whate'er I may have been,
However long from mercy I may have turned away,
Thy blood, O Christ, can cleanse me, and make me white today."

The tune PENLAN does not have the "feeling" to express the sentiments of a poem like that.

The same is true of HYFRYDOL. The Welsh churches use that tune for the singing of "Come, Thou Fount of Every Blessing." When used as an accompaniment for the words "Not Alone for Mighty Empire" the music loses much of its loveliness. Those words are better suited to TON Y BOTEL.

Then there are some Welsh tunes that should never be set to English words because they are so sacredly wedded to one particular Welsh poem. Just as Independence Hall belongs in Philadelphia and would be out of place even in the nation's capital, so the tune MOAB should never be separated from the Welsh hymn, "Ar lan Iorddonen ddofn." In the New Presbyterian Hymnal the tune is united with

"Far Off I See The Goal—O Saviour Hide Me;
I see my strength is small—Be Thou beside me;
With vision ever clear, with love that conquers fear,
And grace to persevere, O Lord, provide me."

While this poem does follow the general sentiment of the original Welsh, the failure of the English words to fit gracefully into the rhythm of the tune cannot help but disturb the Welshman who has heard the hymn in its finer form. It seems to have been bad taste for anyone to have set MOAB to anything but "Ar lan Iorddonen ddofn." That particular combination of words and music has a significant appeal for Welsh people, and that sentiment is enhanced somewhat by the fact that it is Lloyd George's favorite hymn. These things are well worthy of consideration by hymn-book compilers.

On an earlier page it is stated that Welsh hymn singing is not so much a matter of notes, or even proper technique, as of psychology. The following may suffice to show what the writer has in mind. In the *Princeton Chapel Hymnal* there are many Welsh tunes. The Westminster Choir, which sings in the magnificent chapel every Sunday afternoon, is recognized as one of the foremost choirs of the country. Yet the writer has heard that great choir sing the Welsh tune, ABERYSTWYTH, in such manner as would produce an involuntary moan from the congregation had they so sung it in one of the chapels among the hills of South

Wales. The Westminster Choir is composed of young men and women who have good voices, and they are well trained under the leadership of a very capable musician. But all this is technical, and in spite of all the environmental factors of the worshipful edifice, and native talent, that choir lacks the psychology of the Welsh hills that alone will enable them to sing a tune like ABERYSTWYTH in the traditional manner. Welsh hymn singing is based primarily upon "feeling," "Soul," or better still, that something that only a native Welshman can know—HYWL—because it is himself. What the highly trained Princeton Choir cannot do (only in this regard, of course) can be done with the utmost of grace and ease by the average congregation in the Welsh chapel. We must, then, accept the psychological differences between the folks who have lived isolated lives among the Welsh hills and the average native-born American.

However, that is not reason enough to assume that American congregations must do without Welsh hymn-tunes in their hymnals. What it does mean is that care must be exercised by the compilers. While some tunes such as RHYDYGROES, CYMOD, NANTGAU, etc., demand the native Welsh psychology, there are many Welsh tunes that could and would find a welcome place among English-speaking congregations.

One question that the American hymnal prompts in the mind of the Welshman is, "When did AR HYD Y NOS ('All Through the Night') become a hymn?" It is a folk-song, and should never be used in any other capacity. It is far too sweet and plaintive to be used in the worship of an Almighty God. As a folk-song it is to be commended. As a hymn it becomes merely a second cousin to "In the Garden."

Probably the best collection of Welsh hymns that has been published in America is *Can y Mawl*. This was the work of five responsible Welsh ministers and musicians. Released about 1916, it was readily accepted by the Welsh Presbyterians. It contains only about three hundred hymns, but they are all usable and of a high musical and poetic order. Not all the tunes in *Can y Mawl* are Welsh but, like the hymnals of Wales, it contains great English tunes, such as MAIDSTONE, AURELIA; grand German tunes like EIN FESTE BURG, and PASSION CHORAL; and the beautiful Bortniansky tune for "Rock of Ages." But the Welsh tunes are typical, and so, in the printing of booklets for Welsh hymn-singing festivals in America, the plates of *Can y Mawl* are used in most cases.

The first Welsh hymn-singing festival in America was held at Carbondale, Pennsylvania. Most Welsh people there today sing in the Baptist, Methodist, and Presbyterian churches. None of these churches have Welsh hymn-tunes in their books, and so they give themselves over

to the usual singing. While the congregational singing is full in volume, a most important element is lacking. However, every year the Carbondalians unite with the Welsh in Scranton and Wilkes-Barre when they again raise their voices in the singing of the hymns of Wales.

In Wilkes-Barre, however, the Welsh people have not surrendered to their surroundings as readily. While they sing from hymnals published in America, they often use tunes from the hymn-books of the Old Country. Not many miles away, in the Shenandoah section, though, the hymn singing among the Welsh, even in the English-speaking services, is closely akin to that of Glamorganshire in Wales. They sing hymns like "Guide Me, O Thou Great Jehovah," not to the tune in the hymnal, but to the stirring, but worshipful, CWM RHONDDA. A gospel song like "My hope is built on nothing less than Jesus' blood and righteousness," becomes as thrilling as such a hymn can be, because they sing it to the Welsh revival tune, HUDDERSFIELD. Also, as in the chapels of South Wales, it is not unusual for them at the close of the last verse to repeat the closing lines of the hymn.

Wales has a great contribution to make to American hymnody, for not all Welsh tunes have that particular cadence which the Welsh most love. CWM RHONDDA is the type of tune that most people would love to sing, but it should be set to "Guide Me, O Thou Great Jehovah," and not to "Angels, from the Realms of Glory." (That hymn is better if not separated from its wedded partner, REGENT SQUARE.) SARAH, SARON, GROESWEN, TON Y BOTEL, et cetera, are Welsh tunes that are ready for adoption by other peoples, providing that good taste is exercised in the wedding of words to them.

Then, too, Wales may make a great contribution to American hymnody by sharing the manner of the singing; that is, influencing the churches generally to *learn* their hymns so that they can be sung in harmony, without books if necessary. To be able to sing Welsh hymns, the tunes must be thoroughly mastered so that the singer is free to be swayed by the sentiments of the words.

One important factor, however, that must be taken into account before Welsh hymnody is able to make a real contribution, is, Americans must be willing to be helped and taught. That must sound strange, for usually we like to think that we are always ready to learn, that we are very broad-minded, and that all the bull-headedness is part of the natural make-up of those from "the other side." Turning the search-light of criticism back home will soon enable us to realize that bull-headedness is, like all other human frailties, quite general among men. America has so many things that are superior to the rest of the world that we some-

times have the tendency to feel that there is nothing worth having that we do not possess. It is very hard for us to realize that other nations have some things that are far superior to like things in our midst. We seem to feel too often that to admit leadership in any field to another nation is un-American. But the truth of the matter is that it is un-American not to admit facts.

If we are to be enriched by Welsh, or any other hymnody, we must be willing to admit that much of our present church music is anything but worshipful or inspiring. We must be willing, too, for the sake of the future, to sacrifice some of our own pet likes. We can all imagine how disquieted were the old ladies of a few generations ago when they had to give up their bustles. Today, every woman is willing to sing a Doxology on that account. So with many of our pet hymns. It is easier for the church of tomorrow to learn good hymns in the first place than to have to unlearn some and then learn new. We must think of the future, and, if elevating the plane of hymnody means sacrificing some of our own favorites, we must be willing to do it.

This, however, does not mean wholesale change. Many of our American hymns meet the tests of the highest standards. They certainly must be kept. The Welsh hymnologist would be the first to admit that the Welsh tune for a given poem is not necessarily the best for it. A good example of this fact is in "Jesus, Lover of my Soul." The Welsh tune is ABERYSTWYTH, and it has a particular appeal to the Welsh. Admittedly it is a good tune, but no better than the tune MARTIN, and in the opinion of many, not as good for those particular words as is HOLLINGSIDE. The Welsh tune for "All Hail the Power of Jesus' Name" is DIADEM. It is a stirring tune, but probably not as worshipful for those words as is the tune CORONATION. It is evident, then, that even the most ardent admirer of Welsh hymns does not feel that Wales has the answer to all our hymnodic problems.

A fine contribution that Wales could make is the giving of the tunes RACHIE for "Onward, Christian Soldiers"; PEN YR URFA for "O Jesus, I Have Promised"; HOWARD for "Nearer, My God, to Thee"; PENPARK for "Breathe On Me, Breath of God"; TANYMARIAN for "Jesus Calls Us, O'er the Tumult"; CAERSALEM for "Guide Me, O Thou Great Jehovah"; SARAH for "Behold, What Wondrous Grace"; MALVERN for "Thou, Whose Almighty Word," and JOANNA for "How Firm a Foundation."

PLYMOUTH BRETHRENISM

ELMER WILLIAM POWELL

Plymouth Brethren is a popular designation of independent groups of Christians in Ireland and England of the early nineteenth century who called themselves "Brethren." John Nelson Darby resigned in 1827 as parish priest of the established church and "broke bread" in Dublin. His success in organizing an "assembly" in Plymouth, England, in 1831, raised him to a position of unquestioned leadership, hence the name "Plymouth Brethren," or, more popular still, "Darbyites."

I

During the winter of 1827, A. N. Groves, Edward Cronin and others "broke bread" at the home of Francis Hutchinson, 9 Fitzwilliam Square, Dublin, completing their separation from the established church and initiating the Brethren movement. John Parnell (Lord Congleton), in 1830, hired a public room in Aungier Street, Dublin, where the first public "Assembly" of the Brethren was held. In the expanding group were: J. N. Darby (previously mentioned), Classical Medalist, Trinity College, Dublin; John G. Bellett, Trinity College, Dublin; Francis W. Newman, brother of Cardinal Newman, Fellow of Balliol, Oxford; Benjamin W. Newton, Fellow of Exeter, Oxford; G. V. Wigram, Fellow of Queens, Oxford; James L. Harris, Exeter, Oxford, who resigned the incumbency of Plystock and edited the first Brethren paper, *The Christian Witness;* S. P. Tregelles, C. H. Mackintosh, Henry Craik, St. Andrews University; George Muller, Bristol; William Kelly, Trinity, Dublin; William Lincoln, Kings, London; Sir Robert Anderson, the Earl of Carrick, the Earl of Cavan, Lord Adalbert Cecil, Sir Edward Denny, Lord Farham, Henry Frowde, "Printer to the University of Oxford," and F. C. Bland, Trinity, Dublin. One hundred biographical sketches are found in the volume, "Chief Men among the Brethren."

Thus a number of men of exceptional ability and great personal influence identified themselves with the movement. They were classicists, verbalists, makers of lexicons and prolific writers on the Brethren movement. George V. Wigram published "The Englishman's Greek Concordance" and "The Englishman's Hebrew and Chaldee Concordance." Samuel P. Tregelles produced a Hebrew Lexicon. John N. Darby translated the New Testament. Thomas Newberry produced "The Englishman's Bible" and F. W. Grant the "Numerical Bible."

They held in their hands a verbally inspired—dictated in the "original manuscripts"—infallible, self-interpreting Bible under divine guidance. Two basic principles gave them solid ground—"It is written" and "The Scriptures cannot be broken." C. H. Mackintosh (C. H. M's Notes on the Pentateuch) wrote: "If God's Word is not sufficient without human interpretation then it can not be God's Word at all." Strange that he himself should write twelve volumes of expositions!

The Brethren accepted the apocalyptic millenarianism of Edward Irving, a vigorous preacher in the Church of Scotland, who translated Ben Ezra's "The Coming of Messiah in Glory and Majesty"—a book which collated "the fossilized remains of the older Jewish national eschatology"—and conducted prophetic meetings in London which led to his expulsion from the Scottish Church in 1833. His followers, known as Irvingites, established in 1835 the Catholic Apostolic Church. Amazing was the influence exercised by the weird majestic eloquence, the seerlike utterances, the colossal personality of this Scottish preacher. "All ranks and conditions of society were led captive."

Obsessed with the idea that the end of all things was at hand, they stoutly affirmed that "the world's politics, philosophy and social reform advocated for the betterment of the world were but the whitewashing of a house built on sand or the attempted renovation of a system morally corrupt." Their mission was not to save the world but to save people out of it. The proximity of a sudden collapse colored their spiritual life and conduct. If anyone had told the Plymouth Brethren—the Exclusive or the Open or any other of the divisive factions into which the movement broke up—that the church would be on earth in 1938, the answer would probably have been a smile, partly of pity, partly of disapproval but wholly of incredulity.

II

A basic conception of the Brethren was the degeneracy of the established church or the apostasy of the dispensation. They withdrew from all churches because of errors and delusions. They read of no consecrated minister or priest nor of an ordained minister in the New Testament. The movement, repugnant to creeds and church organization, represented a protest against the secularization of religion in the close relation of church and state. They voiced the growing skepticism regarding the doctrine, discipline and ground for existence of the established church. They sought a "spiritual church or communion based on New Testament principles." C. H. Mackintosh wrote: "Among those who separated from various church organizations were some men of con-

siderable gift, moral weight, intellectual power and intelligence—clergymen, barristers, solicitors, military and naval officers, physicians and men of high position and property. The secession caused a very considerable stir. Many sacrifices were made, much sorrow and trial encountered, much reproach, obliquy and persecution had to be endured. . . But the Lord himself was with them. . . Thus were the Brethren strengthened. . . The Gospel was preached with a clearness, fulness and power unknown since the days of the apostles. Books and tracts were written and widely distributed."

Francis W. Newman, brother of Cardinal Newman, was swept off his feet by J. N. Darby and became a missionary to Syria. In ministering to such folks his blind faith in the literal application of Scripture to all human situations received a rude awakening. The story of his disavowal of Plymouth Brethrenism as the price of disillusionment is worth reading by literalists. On leaving Balliol College, Oxford, he became a tutor in the home of Chief Justice Pennefather in Dublin. "My study of the New Testament at this time made it impossible for me to overlook . . . a near sudden destruction of the earth by fire and constantly to be expecting the return of the Lord from heaven . . . it forbids all working for earthly objects in time. . . J. N. Darby threw into the teaching the entire weight of his character. . . If a youth had aptitude for mathematics ought he to give himself to study? . . . Darby would have replied that it was proper for a worldly man. Let the dead bury the dead. The highest Christian must necessarily decline the pursuit of science, knowledge, art, history except for immediate spiritual results. . . He only wanted men to submit their understanding to God, that is to the Bible, that is to his understanding of the Bible."

Newman refused to submit his understanding to Darby's "understanding of the Bible." In fact, the dominating individualism, egotism and dogmatism of J. N. Darby led to division of the Brethren in 1848. On the Plymouth Brethren theory of an infallible, verbally inspired, self-interpreting Bible under divine guidance, two strong men could never live under the same roof. Darby excluded George Muller of Bristol and everyone who had ever attended the Bethesda assembly. Darby himself was deposed in the assembly which he had established in Plymouth. Factional differences created more divisions. Lamenting the bitter controversies and drastic exclusions, H. W. Soltau, a Plymouth Brother, said: "The divisions of the Brethren are the greatest scandal in the Church of God; they result from the want of grace shown one toward another."

III

The Brethren accepted the Bible as a code, "It is written." They were singularly unimaginative and therefore unsympathetic and unsafe interpreters of imaginative writings. This lack of imagination in interpreting metaphorical and imaginative writings appears in the fancifulness of Old Testament statements interpreted as types and shadows. Jesus talked in metaphors. The metaphors are not the realities nor are explanations of metaphors explanations of the realities. Plymouth Brethrenism and traditional theology have been little more than explanations of misunderstood metaphors. All the heresies and all the orthodoxies grew out of an inability to interpret metaphors. The disturbing influence grew out of the Brethren teaching about the Holy Spirit as the sufficient guide of every believer. As a matter of fact, any study of the Spirit is hindered by the impossibility of bringing God under observation. He is not before our senses and is not within our inner consciousness. We are not conscious of two persons. The door is wide open to conjectures but closed to inspection. Men have assumed that the grace which made them eminent also made them preeminently wise. Why not? Mortal man cannot think of himself in possession of spiritual endowments without expecting his judgments to be accepted as next to infallible. Under the ministry of the Spirit as the Brethren taught, the movement disintegrated in factions. In the United States, Plymouth Brethren with 22,961 members are divided into six groups.

Without ecclesiastical organization but with an intense individualism and a sense of personal responsibility, divisions arose and assemblies gathered around various leaders. The strongest influence was exerted by J. N. Darby, who dominated the exclusive section which refused then and now to have any fellowship with churches of any kind. All churches having ordained ministers were apostate. The Open Brethren formed the greatest number; some remained in assemblies, some united with evangelical churches and some became pastors of evangelical churches, a most abhorrent thing to the Exclusive Brethren. The movement in the various divisions exerted a tremendous influence in the life and teaching of the churches of Great Britain and America. The end of what is called the Plymouth Brethren movement for spiritual independence and in defense of the rights of the individual conscience was disappointing, for it ended in the establishment of a crushing, intrusive spiritual tyranny. The unwholesome spiritual tyranny persists in evangelical churches where the teaching of Brethrenism dominates. Protestantism, as sectarianism, with an infallible self-interpreting Bible under the ministry of the Spirit

while deprecating education, cannot outlast Catholicism with an infallible Bible authoritatively interpretated.

"The Brethren," said A. J. Gordon, "began to pour out biblical literature in floods. . . The Christian world has been fairly inundated with these issues . . . holding with primitive apostolic fervor to the personal, literal and ever imminent coming of Christ as the hope of the church . . . the chief theological treasury of many of our evangelists."

IV

J. N. Darby visited the United States in 1859, 1864, 1866, 1870, 1872 and 1874. His success in America was considerable in influencing D. L. Moody who, as stated by his son, W. R. Moody, "found the substance of his theology" and "knew that the Plymouth Brethren had the Bible knowledge he needed." Moody visited the Brethren Bible conferences in Dublin in 1867, known as "Believers Meetings." These were held under the patronage of Henry Bewley, a rich, ardent Plymouth Brother who was the "pocket book of the Dublin Tract Society." The propaganda from Dublin was enormous and, financed by Mr. Bewley, "between four and five hundred millions of tracts were prepared, printed and circulated at his expense." Moody said, "The first time I was in Europe (1867) an old white-haired man (Henry Bewley) who used to do as much to spread the Gospel as any man I knew gave me at one time ten tons of tracts to flood Chicago." Moody put his brother-in-law, Fleming H. Revell, in business as a "publisher of evangelical literature." The publications were chiefly Plymouth Brethren tracts and books.

On another occasion Moody said: "Some years ago I had my attention called to C. H. M's Notes (C. H. Mackintosh was the popularizer of J. N. Darby), and was so pleased and at the same time so profited by the way they opened up the Scripture truths that I secured all the writings of the same author, and, if they could not be replaced, would rather part with my entire library, excepting my Bible, than with these writings. They have been to me a very key to the Scriptures." Moody accepted the teachings of the Plymouth Brethren and his sermons, like the dyer's hands, were subdued by the color.

The revival of 1858 following the Wall Street panic of 1857 led Moody into mission work in Chicago. The revival spread to Great Britain and produced a host of lay preachers with scant education, such as Richard Weaver, a coal miner; William Carter, a chimney-sweep; John Hamilton, a comedian; Edward Usher, a stevedore; Henry Varley, a butcher; Joshua Poole, a fiddler; Henry Moorhouse, George C. Needham, and others. "Boys in their teens" with little or no education

became, said George C. Needham, "expounders of the Word and skilled theologians." "After a hard evening with Moorhouse on the street of an English town," he related, "Moorhouse led us to the house of a mail-carrier who opened to us the Word of God . . . the divinely taught postman continued his striking and precious expositions." Richard Weaver paid a lad two pence a day to teach him to read and this was all the "human" education he had preparatory to preaching.

Beset with the idea that the end of all things was at hand, why should anyone go to school or have life insurance or build stone houses. In emphasizing the secret rapture of the church as a basis of evangelical appeal, they relied on the assumption that from the moment of the rapture the day of grace will be over.

V

Henry Moorhouse arrived in Wilmington, Delaware, in 1868, where Thomas Kimber, a member of the Society of Friends, "spent many hours with Moorhouse over Murray's grammar that he might correct the grammatical and other errors and clothed the young man and paid his fare to Chicago to D. L. Moody." The preaching of Moorhouse in Chicago was glamorously told by Moody and Moorhouse was made famous.

W. J. Erdman, the first pastor (1875-1878) of the Moody church, asked Moorhouse how he came to use Bible readings, and this was the reply: "I was trying to preach . . . as ministers do, regular sermons from a text. After a few weeks my Scriptures and stories gave out and I began to repeat myself. One evening I was in my room . . . and in great distress of mind, for I had no text nor sermon. . . I lingered, debating whether to go at all. Suddenly my eye fell upon an almanac lying on the table in my room. I took it up in a listless way, opened it at the month of February, and saw that opposite each day of the mouth was a passage of Scripture, and all on the subject of justification. I had my sermon. I tore out the leaf, laid it in my Bible and went to the hall. When the time came to preach I rose and said, 'My friends, I will not preach tonight but will read some Scriptures, and all on the subject of justification.' I began with the first passage and spoke awhile on that, and then on to the next, and before I was half way through the month my time was up. . . And I have never preached sermons since." Believe it or not, that is the origin of Bible readings. Beside the statement of Henry Moorhouse is this statement of D. L. Moody: "When I commenced giving Bible readings years ago I used to give about forty quotations at one time; but I found that the people got tired . . . and I cut the number to twenty. . . If I can bring out the meaning of ten passages

with a story here and there to keep up the interest of the people I think I get more truth lodged in their minds than if I used a hundred passages. . . It is better to take a dozen passages and throw light on them than to run over a hundred and not say a word between them." It is a mystery that Moody who could not explain one text could "throw light" on many texts by telling miscellaneous stories.

VI

Bible conferences in America are of Irish origin, a product of the Plymouth Brethren movement. Moody attended the Brethren conferences in Dublin, 1867, 1870, and 1872. In 1867 be brought to America "ten tons of [Plymouth Brethren] tracts to flood Chicago," as we have seen. A young street preacher, George C. Needham, a Plymouth Brother, came to Boston in 1868. He became an evangelist at nineteen with scant schooling. "Young men," said Needham, "who had not attained their majority became skillful expositors. . . The Holy Spirit gave ability." It was through Needham that Bible conferences began. The Boston Bible conference was held in 1868. In 1869 he "originated and moderated" the Philadelphia conference on "The Inspiration of the Bible" and the Baltimore conference on "The Personality and Ministry of the Holy Spirit." The Chicago Prophetic conference was held in 1870, and another assembled in Galt, Canada, in 1871. Later George C. Needham became pastor of the Moody church.

The conferences were built on the Brethren teaching on five points and were "proved" by a miscellaneous collection of texts. The basic principles were the original certainties, "It is written" and "The Scriptures cannot be broken."

1. Verbal inspiration. In the original manuscripts infallibility meant perfect exemption from liability to error.
2. The distinct personality and ministry of the Spirit.
3. The substitutionary atonement.
4. The two distinct and separate natures of the believer.
5. The personal, premillennial coming of Christ in terms of Jewish national eschatology.

The Niagara Bible conference was organized in 1876 with W. J. Erdman, the first pastor of the Moody church (1875-1878), as secretary. This group probably had the most influence in the spread of Brethrenism and was the "Old Guard" which sought control in the affairs of Moody. During the pastorate (1906-1911) of A. C. Dixon in the Moody church the publication of the "Fundamentals" began. Moody died in 1899, and

it is safe to say that if he had lived the publications would not have been issued from his Chicago institutions.

The Northfield conferences began in 1880, and in the early days many of the speakers were the "Old Guard" of the Niagara conference. They protested the appearance of men like William Rainey Harper, Lyman Abbott, Washington Gladden, Henry Drummond and George Adam Smith in Northfield. They imagined that they were the intimates of Moody and the keepers of his conscience. They found themselves against an invincible gray wall of granite when they proposed to ostracize Henry Drummond, who came to Boston in 1893 to deliver lectures in the Lowell Institute on "The Ascent of Man." James M. Gray, of the Moody Institute, told the story in the *Moody Monthly,* September, 1921:

"The devoted brethren, A. J. Gordon, A. T. Pierson, W. J. Erdman, W. G. Moorehead, D. W. Whittle, G. C. Needham and C. I. Scofield, were present at the Northfield conference and were discussing the conducting of it, which was not to their liking. . . Mr. Moody was to blame . . . they held a prayer meeting about it in the woods . . . and they presented their complaint to Mr. Moody. . . Not to prolong the harrowing tale, the 'old guard' did *not* win their case. Theirs was not entirely a lost cause." Those were ominous words, "Not entirely a lost cause."

Drummond delivered his addresses at Northfield. In 1899, George Adam Smith was invited to Northfield at the close of his lectures at Yale on "The Hope of Immortality in the Old Testament." R. A. Torrey protested the appearance of Sir George Adam Smith and S. Parkes Cadman. Moody invited the protester and the protested to meet at his home. Among other things Doctor Torrey asked Doctor Smith if certain passages were Messianic. Doctor Smith replied that primarily they were not. Doctor Torrey then stated that he had studied higher criticism as a young man and had come to the conclusion that there was no good thing in it. Sir George Adam Smith made no answer. But Moody was grieved by the odium theologicum of Doctor Torrey, his "belligerent guest," and said, "awful, awful."

"Theirs was not a lost cause," said James M. Gray. Moody died in 1899, and when he died his spirit died in the institutions which he had founded in Chicago. Within a month after his death the name of his school was changed from its original, "The Chicago Evangelization Society," to "The Moody Bible Institute of Chicago." The spirit in Chicago became such that the Moody family protested and withdrew from active participation in its affairs so that for many years "Founder's Day" has been celebrated without any member of the Moody family being present.

Mr. Moody never planned "short cuts" to the ministry. That came after his death. He was a trustee of Wellesley College and sent two sons to Yale, a nephew to Amherst and a niece to Wellesley. A stream of graduates has gone from the Northfield Schools to colleges of highest standards, where many have earned Phi Beta Kappa keys and scholarships on sheer merit. He was elated when two Mount Hermon men were graduated from Princeton University as valedictorian and salutatorian, respectively.

His son, Paul D. Moody, president of Middlebury College, Vermont, began his theological course in Glasgow under that great teacher, George Adam Smith. Later he went to Edinburgh, and all the while his mother was with him. While he was a student at Yale he was often the ghost-writer for his father. In a certain article he represented his father as saying that "higher criticism was less dangerous than un-Christian attacks upon it." His father read this in the article when submitted to him for approval, "pondered it for a little time thoughtfully and then said he would let it stand." Obviously Dwight L. Moody had outgrown some things. The "Old Guard" became an embarrassment in their strictures upon men whom he had invited to Northfield.

VII

Brethrenism has been established in Bible Institutes and Schools of the Bible where free inquiry and free discussion are forbidden. It is repudiated in every unfettered college, university and theological seminary in the whole world. In all institutions of high rank the Bible has a place with free inquiry and free discussion. When Bible Institutes use the "Scofield Bible" they demand submission to the Plymouth Brethren teaching imposed on the Bible by C. I. Scofield. What has been described as "dispensational truth" is merely an avoidance of the use of the words Plymouth Brethrenism. The "Scofield Bible" was financed by Plymouth Brethren and published by Henry Frowde, "Printer to the University of Oxford," an ardent Exclusive Plymouth Brother.

Henry Pickering, a publisher of Plymouth Brethrenism in London, in describing an influential Plymouth Brother, says, "He contended earnestly for the faith once for all delivered to the Saints . . . his pen confuted error and be defended the fundamentals of the faith. He was a strong fundamentalist."

LIKE PEAS IN A POD

GEORGE B. MacDONALD

NOTHING is much easier than to call for a division and head people into opposite camps, on the basis of a pronounced attitude on some particular issue. Such clear-cut divisions, however, are seldom valid even for the issue that is used to bring them about and are usually utterly misleading and harmful when other issues, perhaps of greater moment, are under consideration. A simple division over a question of tariff may be deepened and broadened by culture until it seems as if Whig and Tory designate a natural, distinct and irrevocable cleavage in society. But in reality such a division is more seeming than real, for life sweeps along in a single curve and not in a bimodal manner. The basic hopes, fears, longings, interests and activities of both Whigs and Tories are so much alike that they cannot distinguish themselves unless they invoke the Corn Law.

The fact is that there is no known test into which you may divide humanity into distinct groups. In any given population most people are about the average. They are so physically. Cut off the high heels and the bulk of American women stand between 5 feet 2 inches and 5 feet 6 inches. You find a few who are 4 feet 8 inches and a few who are 6 feet 2 inches, but the norm is in the neighborhood of 5 feet 4 inches. It is a waste of time, therefore, to try to divide the female population between tall women and short women. This rule holds not only for women's height but holds for them and for their men-folks in weight, color of hair, tone of voice, eyesight, power of endurance, appetite and what not. It is not only in the human circulatory system that you find a general homeostasis, temperature 98.6—pulse-beat 80 per minute, so many red corpuscles to so many white in a drop of blood—but throughout man's entire physical equipment.

What is true for man's physical endowments is also true with regard to his mind. You do not get any sharply defined mental types, unless you are dealing with the opposite fringes of society. Yet hardly anywhere else do we so readily violate a principle of life as in our willingness to class people in hard and fast mental groups, like dull and intelligent, or dominant and recessive. The most familiar of these divisions is Jung's sweeping generalization about "introverts" and "extroverts." As I remember it, introverts were the thoughtful, imaginative half of mankind. Extroverts were the active, aggressive half; disciples

of the strenuous life, tomboys, football players and acrobats. Introverts were melancholic, subject to nervous breakdowns. Extroverts were evenly balanced mentally, and likely to remain so indefinitely, if they were not compelled to think.

Immediately after Jung published his views, everybody agreed that he had something. But there are prominent psychologists today who would pay almost anything in blackmail if you promised not to publicize the fact that they were ardent exponents of Jung's theory fifteen years ago. As for preachers, Mary and Martha got more than their share of pulpit publicity as the "introvert" and the "extrovert" girls, during the decade that followed Jung's statement.

As everyone knows, however, someone had the rather obvious idea of putting the theory to a test. Six hundred college students were given the "once-over." Now whether it was found that the ordinary college student neither thought nor did anything and therefore could not well be regarded as either introvert or extrovert, I do not know. This much I do know, of the six hundred young men and women examined, only one fitted Jung's classification of introvert and one other as extrovert. The main body of students stood solidly between the extremes. Then and not till then it was remembered that Jung was a psychiatrist, who dealt with the abnormal and that his findings, though valid for the fringes of society, are of little value when we deal with normal people.

Well-defined dogmas, however, have a way of hanging on. In Germany today they are still exploiting Jung's central idea in the guise of a Typological Psychology. In that unfortunate land, there is an art "to tell the mind's construction in the eye." Kretchmer, for instance, in his work on Morphological Types, postulates two (yea, three, since two was not sufficiently exhaustive) distinct physical types—

> Pyknic—"full development of body cavities" (cranium, chest, stomach), . . "broad shoulders, massive neck," "deep-vaulted chest," . . . "magnificent fat paunch" (Herr Kretchmer himself must be pot-bellied) etc., etc.
>
> Asthenic ("Typus asthenius," J. Bauer calls them), "lean narrow-built men," . . "flat chest," "projecting ribs," "lean arms," "thin muscles," . . . "lower limbs just like the upper ones," . . . etc., etc. (E. E. Kretchmer, "Phisique and Character.")
>
> Between these two types comes the athletic type, which is neither flesh, fowl nor fish, into which individuals who are neither consumptive nor obese are placed.
>
> The work is buttressed by a great deal of erudition and illustrated by apt photographs, taken apparently in Turner bunds or Sanitaria, as the case demanded.

This exercise in physiology would have been innocent enough if out of it had not proceeded a whole array of prejudices as to the make-up of the human mind. Doctor Kretchmer categorically maintains that

"Behind the same external architecture dwell the same psychic impulses." By a sort of learned legerdemain, biotypes are transmitted before your eyes into schizothymes and cyclothymes, schizophrenes and circular psychotics and, before you know what is happening, you are able to tell by glancing at a man at any angle whether he is a "gay chatterbox," "silent good-tempered man," "energetic practical man," "polite sensitive man," "world hostile idealist," "cold masterful nature," or what not.

But for all its modernity and despite the fact that it is so handy for Doctor Goebbels when expediency demands that he certify a particular Jew as an "Honorary Aryan," the system is as naïve and unscientific as its medieval prototype so commonly found in Chaucer.

Medieval physiologists, with absolute confidence in the basic elements of antiquity (earth, water, air and fire), regarded the human body as composed of certain definite combinations of these elements. Whether a man was in the main compounded of air and water, or earth and water, decided his complexion and humour or type in which he stays, as Ben Jonson's play, "Every Man in his Humour," illustrates. The medieval mind drew as far-reaching conclusions from their system as do the German typologists. If a man's body was compounded mainly of fire and water, his complexion would be sanguine and his humour blood. His mark would be "largus (freehanded), amans (a lover) . . . rubeique coloris (red of face) . . . carnosus (corpulent) . . . atque benignus (and kindly)," very much like Doctor Kretchmer's pyknic-type Schwabian. If he happened to fall ill, however, he would not get the pampering which he would get today in the Third Reich, but would be extremely lucky if his physician, relying on Dioscorides' *De Materia Medica,* did not bleed him to death. So the types or "humours" of the middle ages were arrived at and the thing seemed so reasonable that it was not only taken for granted in that day but is reflected today in such distinctions as phlegmatic or melancholic.

The thing to bear in mind, however, is that whether you juggle with the elements like the schoolmen or resort to mensuration like the German typologists, you cannot put personalities into sharply contrasting groups. And as for telling a man's mind by his features and concluding that Cassius is vicious because "he hath a mean and hungry look," the thing should never be attempted by men of sense. There never was a more adulterous-looking old sinner than Socrates, yet those who knew him well assure us that he was one of the finest of mortals in mind and soul. People who must decide on a man's mental make-up by his physical contour might as well, and with a great saving of energy, find out whether he has or hasn't hairs upon his chest.

When we deal with the ethical side of society we find that the same principle holds. It is not possible to divide a population into a moral half and an immoral half. Such terms as "the underworld" are very misleading, as they tend to suggest a section of the population with a type of ethics vastly different from that to which we are accustomed. I am not saying that the prisoner at the bar is quite as honorable as the presiding jurist, as the late Clarence Darrow was fond of doing, much to the annoyance of those who thanked God that they were not like other men; though the recent expression of savagery, by the guardians of the law against recalcitrant criminals in one of our local prisons, suggests that Darrow might have known somewhat of what he was speaking. The point I am making is that there is no cleavage in society between a depraved half and a virtuous half. The soul of humanity is much the same when it is probed deep enough. We are all bound in the same bundle of life.

Some years ago May and Hartshorne (a psychologist and a minister) made what is still the finest study in this field. They took 2,443 children with the thought in mind of finding out how they stood in matters of honesty, truthfulness and so forth. The tests took such forms as partially blindfolding them and letting them stick on a donkey's tail; or grading papers for them without their knowing it, then turning the papers back and letting them grade themselves. Every child had the feeling that he or she was wearing Gyge's ring and could lie or cheat without anyone's knowing the difference. The result was very interesting. The children did not divide, on the one hand, into Ananias clubs and, on the other, into Cherry-tree fraternities. There was very little evidence of anything like absolute honesty and very little of anything like absolute dishonesty; they stood together with the curve leaning slightly toward absolute honesty. They found that the background of the children had something to do with the results; such factors, for instance, as sense of honor in the home or groups from which they came, played a part but not a decisive part. Their big find was that a trait like honesty was a specific trait. A child's honesty in a given situation is his honesty in that situation and but a bare indication of what it may be in some other. One boy may steal eats but not toys, one cheat in a game but not in his lessons. If we take the famous trio of the nursery rhyme,

> "To bed, to bed," says Sleepy Head;
> "Tarry a while," says Slow;
> "Put on the pan," says Greedy Man,
> "Let's sup before we go,"

it does not take a great deal of insight to surmise where dishonesty is most likely to crop out in each. But we must in all fairness make a very broad investigation before attempting to grade them as to their relative ethical standing.

Now the child is father to the man. One man may break a store window and get a quart of milk for his starving children, the theme around which Victor Hugo's great drama turns; another owns a herd of cows and would never think of stealing milk, but he would improve his lie on a golf course; one may cheat in his sex relations, but would not rob you of a farthing if you trusted all your wealth to him without the least security. No one is either dishonest all along the line or virtuous all along the line. The principle, therefore, of parting the sheep upon the right hand and the goats upon the left is an extremely dangerous one. Indeed, so dangerous is it that the One who announced it expressly stated that it would be applied only on the Day of Judgment, and told a story about wheat and tares—things between which it is far more easy to distinguish than between a man and his brother—to emphasize the danger.

Yet, despite this, we so easily make categorical distinctions in our various interests. We rejoice in our perspicacity in seeing a line between the "haves" and the "have nots" and are ready to formulate our international relationships on that. We think we see it clearly when someone advances a social theory that bases civilization on the conflict between the "in groups" and the "out groups," though Sumner himself was never sure to which group he belonged.

In religion we continue to employ sharp distinctions, like "saints" and "sinners," "lost" and "saved," the "just" and the "unjust," the "godly" and the "ungodly," when, by every workable test, the race does not bifurcate like that.

Only upon a purely metaphysical conception of sin and salvation can one draw any such distinction. Augustine laid down the classical scheme for that, a scheme which as you know was opposed so strongly by an English monk called Pelagius that Pelagianism has been the bugbear of the Catholic Church for fifteen centuries. According to Augustine, you are born and you belong to the city of the devil; you are baptized and you belong to the city of God. Other sacraments merely insure that you remain in your chosen city. But even here the lines are never as hard and fast as the theory would lead you to expect. Or, how do you account for Purgatory with its large and increasing Irish population?

In all rational existence, sharply drawn lines do not work. At best, they are a rule of thumb, fraught with inaccuracies and injustice. You

cannot divide sharply between liberals and conservatives. That is the place where I think President Roosevelt is making his big mistake. A man is liberal or conservative on a certain issue and, at best, that is only an indication as to what he may be on some other issue. I had the shock of my life a few months ago when one of the most liberal men in philosophy that I have ever met turned out to be utterly reactionary in his economic views. As a matter of fact, within the same field, men are often open-minded on one issue and procrustean on another. The late Professor George Cross, who was by all odds a very stimulating thinker, would often in the same hour be broad, speculative and tolerant and narrow, dogmatic and intolerant over issues that as far as I could see were like two peas in a pod. And I am amazed when, being familiar with the iconoclastic utterances of some of our great writers, James Moffatt, for instance, I find them at their devotions mumbling archaic credos with the piety of a medieval cloister.

With these considerations in mind, it becomes quite evident that when we exploit a means that sharply defines between ourselves and others, we do so at the expense of innumerable values wherein we are at one with them. And when we allow ourselves to be corralled with those who happen to see eye to eye with us on some specific issue, we are likely to have to make our beds with folks among whom we find little sympathy in many of our dominant interests. That is the reason why all "better-than-thou" groups dwindle to a handful of adherents, who among their other peculiarities look askance on the orthodoxy of each other. Our Presbyterian brethren have been fertile throughout their history with instances of this. The best one I know is cited by S. M. Crothers in one of his essays on history. "Here is a book," he writes, "published in Wheeling, West Virginia, in 1809. It is 'A Narrative of the Introduction and Progress of Christianity in Scotland, before the Reformation; and the Progress of Religion since in Scotland and America.'" We are told that the history was read, paragraph by paragraph, at a meeting of the Reformed Dissenting Presbytery at the Three Ridge Meeting House, and unanimously approved. At the beginning we are taken into a wide place and given a comprehensive view of early Christianity. Then we are shown how in the sixteenth century began a series of godly reformations.

Christianity, bursting through the barriers of Popery, began its resistless flow toward the pure theology of the Three Ridge Meeting House. As the articles of the true faith were increased, the number of persons, who were able to hold correct opinions upon them all, diminished. The history, by perfectly logical processes, brings us down to the year 1799, when secession had done its perfect work and the true church had

attained to an apostolic purity of doctrine and a more than apostolic paucity of membership. It is with a fearful joy that the historians proclaim the culmination of the age-long evolution. "O, the times we live in! There were but two of us to defend the doctrine of the Bible and the Westminster Confession."

The stage is always set in any free religious group for that kind of thing. We set up, shall we say, as standard the literal acceptance of the Scriptures. Then we have a gathering of the faithful (as happened in New York City a few years ago), only to spend fruitless hours in trying to decide whether on the literal basis of Scripture the ladies should be allowed to take any part in our meetings. We divide on the issue with some amount of bitterness, tell the brethren that we believe that they know exactly what the Scriptures say but are afraid that if they take a definite stand they will lose the flesh-pots which the Ladies' Aid always keep boiling. We go on in this way until a Southern woman in her zeal for literalism hacks off her right hand and gouges out her right eye, and we are either overcome by shame for our latitudinarianism or we are recalled to our right mind.

Let us be very frank. The great body of Christians believe in the attitude of life which Jesus taught and in which he believed so firmly that he faced the cross for it. I will not attempt to make a definitive statement about it. Suffice it to say that it is a life characterized among other things by a certain humaneness and unselfishness, personal purity and rectitude, a sympathetic attitude toward misfortune, a universal brotherliness and a healthy assurance concerning the benevolent purposes of God. A man who holds an attitude somewhat like that is a Christian. He may put what doctrinal frills or theological embellishments appeal to him around it; he may believe that the world moves or doesn't move; that Joshua made the sun stand still—or he just doesn't see how he could. He may believe, with Matthew and Luke, that Jesus was born of a virgin, or with Paul, that he was born *κατὰ σάρκα* (according to the flesh)—or, like most of the evangelists, he may evince no interest in the subject; he may hold to any of the three views of the resurrection given in the New Testament, or the psychological view which has gained currency in recent centuries; he may take as his own any of a score of eschatological views, providing they be not too gross and cruel, and he will still be Christian. We may say something is wrong with his head but his heart is all right—and religion is a thing of the heart.

Now I would no more say that a man's faith should not be embellished by a facing of striking or enhancing doctrines than I would that his house should not be made attractive on the outside by a judicious use

of paints or fretwork. Indeed, I think that as a house that is dowdy outside is likely to be dusty within, so religious professions, unaccompanied by peculiarities of doctrines, are prone to be monotonous, even sterile. Our primary emphasis, however, should be on the gold not on the guinea's stamp.

In the actual working out, we must confess that we are greatly exercised about the frills. Our ordination councils have very little to do with the body of religion but a whole lot to do with minutiæ of doctrines. Recently I attended an ordination council where a young man was badgered for over an hour and finally turned down. Not because he wasn't Christian, for I think everyone was agreed that he was Christian in the finest sense of the term. Not because he lacked training or was of a disposition or temperament to make a mockery of Christian leadership. But because, although he was fully committed to the gospel, which everyone of us in our various degrees strives to honor, he could not subscribe to some of the traditional doctrines, which throughout the centuries have been, with varying degrees of intensity, associated with the gospel. I am not at this instance particularly interested in his case, but in the situation of which it is symbolic. Every so often I get an inquiry about some one who is apparently well trained and full of Christian consecration, whether I think he will be ordained in the Philadelphia area or not, and I must confess that the fact that the question has to be asked is rather disturbing.

Disturbing if for no other reason, because it compels me to conclude that there is a great preoccupation about the jot and the tittle among us to the detriment of the weightier matters of the law. In an age when the world is grasping for a faith that will move mountains, a faith which by friendliness and sympathetic understanding will break the shock of materialism, uncharitableness and the worship of force, we are making rallying points of issues which possess absolutely no saving power.

Men of vision in the Christian community are pushing toward an ecumenical movement. They are doing so at the expense of much ecclesiastical trappings and dogmatic prejudices that age and custom have made dear to them. But they do so with hope of a deeper fellowship, a greater fortifying of the body of Christ. To continue old or invent new rallying points that are decisive and not essential parts of the Christian message is to circumscribe our world ministry.

When 1,200 years ago Islam was beginning its march across the western world, Christendom found itself in hostile camps; still battling over such ancient controversies as to whether the Father and the Son were homoousian or homoiousian, or whether the Holy Ghost had a single or double procession (pater filioque). Mohammedanism became master

of the field and Christianity remained in a cul-de-sac for the best part of a millennium.

Thus it is always with any leadership into whose hands have fallen the reins of serious responsibility. They may toy with irrelevancies, make issues of non-essentials, but when great movements are afoot they are swept out of the way or trampled under, if they are not bonded together by a great central purpose.

E. Stanley Jones cites the instance somewhere that when the Russian revolution first broke out and the streets of Moscow and Petrograd were running with blood, the bishops and dignitaries of the Greek Church were by chance holding a synod in Petrograd. Above every other group, they were in a position to modify or change the tone of what was taking place in Russia. And for three days they argued back and forth; but not about "the loud vociferations of the street," "nor the tumult of the times disconsolate," but rather about whether or not at a particular point in the orthodox liturgy the celebrant should wear a yellow or a purple chasuble. As I understand it, the yellow chasublists won out and are now dressed up with no place to go.

My friends, I am not the least bit pessimistic about the ultimate triumph of the Christian spirit, but I do confess that I am saddened because the day will be delayed so long as men of zeal allow their fervor to divide the church; so long as we who meet here from week to week as brothers in the faith allow ourselves and our relationships to be constrained by anything other than the love of Christ.

In the interest of the Kingdom and for the salvation of our own souls, we as Christian leaders should pray like à Kempis:

"Take away from our hearts, O Lord, all suspiciousness, indignation, wrath and contention, and whatsoever may hurt charity, and lessen brotherly love."

If we can't pray like that, we will continue to present one of the most tragic but common spectacles of Christian history, that of men of faith whose faith only soared to bigotry, or men of insight whose insight brought forth only fruits of querulousness.

As for me, I will try to do what Edwin Markham speaks of doing in his little verse:

He drew a circle that shut me out—
Heretic, rebel, a thing to flout.
But love and I had the wit to win;
We drew a circle that took him in!

THE LISTENER IN THE PEW

MRS. OSCAR E. MERTZ

We have the wish to approach the subject in a helpful and practical manner and yet I should like to build on a premise of ideals, taking types in pulpit and pew which will form the happiest relationship, seeking characteristics in minister and parishioner which will attract and fit, making the experience mutually beneficial.

The occupant of the pew comes into a half-filled church; there is an exchange of quiet greetings, a seat quietly taken, some moments of prayer and meditation. The first effort should be to still the mind, to open it to beauty, to aspiration; much is conducive to this mood: organ music, floral arrangement, jeweled light through memorial windows, the altar; this is a church, a place of worship, a place of discovery. We remember traditions; we are conscious perhaps of mystery. Traffic noises, the stir of entering persons, distractions grow less noticeable; we have the wish to stay apart a little, to commune, to prepare heart and spirit.

The service begins; the minister raises his voice in an invocation; we hear the message pronounced and we listen not to words alone, but to intonation, to clarity of expression. Our participation begins; we pray together, we share in the responsive reading. Has our attention been given at once, is that attention sympathetic, has the flame been kindled? Let us imagine a clear voice, moderately pitched, the tone easily produced, flexible, varied in color; this is the instrument. The Scripture reading should be measured not dragged, reverent not ponderous, natural but not casual. Every aspect of this reading makes some appeal, whether it be the reasonableness of the New Testament, its symbolism, its picturesqueness, or the heroic figures of the Old Testament, the monumental proportions of its scenes, the historical pageantry; the reading should be emphasized and accented but not overly dramatized. It must always ring true and the preacher needs to feel the importance, the timeliness, the relationship of lesson and text to his sermon. Perfunctory or indifferent reading destroys sense and illusion, a murmur which merely brushes by the ears may be a time-filler but it is never a heart-filler; it never links the component parts of the service together as it should. We who are in the pews want spiritual assurance; we want guidance; we want to know God's plan for every-day life. I recently heard the following text used: "And he builded an altar there, and called upon the name of Jehovah, and pitched his tent there and there Isaac's servants digged a well." The

text illustrates man's three main necessities—worship, home and work. We who listen wish that we might be reminded of and directed in them more often. Worship—an essential constituent of life, the giving to the highest we know, the best that we have; home—right relationships, helpful associations; work—the work of our hands established, and back of the hands the person justified through the use of his disciplined faculties. That sermon answered positive needs. Vital interest is developed from a background of experience; learning purposefully directed gives factual knowledge, and a competent ability to think grows; religious convictions spring from all of these and they in turn help the social changes which determine policies and enterprises. Surely ministers wonder often if they are giving the answer to the many daily problems, if their own attitude is sufficiently clarified to carry conviction. I have heard sermons where the matter was sound, the delivery satisfactory, the allusions and illustrations meaningful, but the sum-total effect was nevertheless curiously negative. I believe it was solely because the man himself was not completely persuaded that he was on solid ground, or that he could endorse with conviction what he was saying.

Another thing which needs to be examined time and again is a prejudice, a pet hate (and the most righteous persons hold them), or a partiality to which we are particularly tender, which makes our argument equivocal. It is a far more comfortable thing to ignore the prodding conscience which admonishes; think through, be sure! Not for long can we ignore it; we must come to grips with it and work through every phase until we come as near the truth as possible; then our message carries conviction.

In our Germantown church we have had the unusual opportunity of hearing a great number of visiting ministers; we have been unable to decide on a successor to the late, dearly beloved Doctor Sullivan, and therefore have entered upon an experiment; three ministers come regularly for three Sundays a month, the fourth and possibly fifth Sundays are filled in by men of our denomination who may be considered candidates. The listener in the pew has noted the many distinguishing abilities and differences in these men, studied their attitudes and their conclusions, and has been conscious even of intangibles and imponderables. Each gave some distinctive gift peculiarly his own: the manner of presentation varied; some jewels were handsomely boxed, others carelessly wrapped; some were more elaborately mounted than the stone warranted, others shone by themselves, though held out on a bare palm. Inner radiance, intrinsic value never fell short in influence. One learns many things through observation and attention. In discussing the problem of tempta-

tion, one man averred that we were more often tempted by our strength than by our weakness, and oddly enough demonstrated the fact himself. He had marked dramatic talent but his sermon was weakened by a too elaborate embellishment of simple things and by histrionic effects uncalled for in the pulpit. The too obvious intent disquieted and the central theme was lost in the surrounding verbiage.

There are certain perils which a minister faces. I once heard this in a charge given to a group of men just entering the ministry and have since seen evidence of each peril manifested in the demeanor of some individual in the pulpit. Perhaps you will not think that these are major hazards but they are to be guarded against. Please believe that I do not go to church to indulge in critical analyses, to weigh and find wanting, to pick faults and to sit in judgment. The Sunday service is an enriching and enlarging experience; it uplifts and steadies. I go expectantly, with an open heart, ready to be moved, stirred, with an open mind, ready to be informed, stimulated, with an eager, cooperative spirit, asking guidance and light on the way and willing to serve in any way that I am able.

The perils of which I spoke are: first, personal vanity easy to understand, for the clergy receives preferential treatment, sometimes even excessive adulation, flattering confidence; one must be on one's guard, relying often on self-examination to keep a clear eye, insight and balance. Mannerisms and affectations must be watched; they are insidious and betray our best intentions; they grow out of this peril of personal vanity. Spiritual sterility is a peril; we need to earn in order to spend; we need to make prudent and ample addition to natural endowment. It is easy for a minister to think that he has a free drawing account on a generous spiritual credit but a demand is made on his own efforts to keep the account active. Inactivity, whether of a muscle, a talent or an obligation, results in functional disability. Feed the spirit; never deprive it of its indispensable sustenance. Then there is the peril of scholarship, erudition which leads to aloofness, to condescension; the minister must convey his willingness to serve and to maintain the common relationships of life in humility and approachableness. The listener must be aware of this and be touched by word and gesture which carry to him the conviction of a definite fellow feeling.

I have been thinking of the oft used expression, "pillar of the church," and from pillar it was an easy step to column, from that to the various classifications of columns, the Doric, the Ionic, the Corinthian and the Composite. Will you allow me to play with these a little as representing types of people in our pews; I hope you will not think it too far-fetched. The Doric, the oldest of the three classical orders, represents

the strong and the simple people; the Ionic, with scroll-like ornaments, the learned professional people, critical, often skeptical, refusing concurrence in generally accepted conclusions. These "challenge the axiom," as Einstein said he did when he developed his theory of relativity. The Corinthian, the fashionable, the ornate, representing wealth, social position, crowded lives, many distractions, detached interests. The Composite order is made up of many elements; one dictionary gives it: "the Ionic grafted upon the Corinthian"; that suits our purpose for the pseudo intellectual, those bright social creatures who take on a veneer of learning, who know phrases and terms as ornaments of conversation, but are not built of solid stuff; the Ionic, the learned, grafted upon the Corinthian, the lightest and most ornate of our classical forms.

Because what you are learning to do may be allied to the fine art of building, because plan, purpose, proportion are essential parts of structural excellence, I am using these symbols. Our primary concern is with the listener in the pew; we need to know him well before we can satisfy his requirements. I venture to say that congregations are largely made up of types comparable to the columns we are using as examples. Why columns? They are props, supports; they consist of base, shaft and capital (that, ladies and gentlemen, is no pun!). Let us call the base, tradition and custom; the shaft, impulse and intention; the capital, achievement and satisfaction. We hear columns defined also as "sometimes standing alone, as a monument"; we all know such individuals, sturdy, independent, outstanding, recording noble deeds. Surrounding the columns is an atmosphere of beauty, a play of light and shadow, the whole springing from ideals of truth, undeviating straightness of line. It is not for the sole purpose of playing with this idea that I project it but to use it seriously for your consideration. Let us see if we can agree on the ideal listener in the pew. He comes to church to pray, praise and worship; he comes for edification and guidance; he has reverence, sympathy, good-will; he respects his minister and his neighbor. His actions are informed through love of God and man; the words of his mouth and the meditations of his heart are acceptable.

I should like to suggest that you hold that ideal in your mind, although we know that there are many who do not measure up to it. There will be the lonely, the sorrowful, the anxious, the embittered, the preoccupied, the light-minded. How can you be all things to all these people? Friendly, consoling, uplifting, reconciling, interesting, steadying? You have an inexhaustible source from which to draw. "Take thy censer and put fire therein from off the altar," I heard that text used recently and have pondered it; religion gives a quickening urge; it illumines and

penetrates; it is its own demonstration. There is probably no higher calling than the one you have chosen; be utterly sincere in it. "Truth is the highest thing a man may keep." Your lives must enforce what your lips speak. Prepare yourselves joyously, perfect yourselves assiduously. I do not know who coined the slogan: "Only the best is good enough," but it may well be graven on all our hearts. In closing, may I leave a sentence of Doctor Sullivan's with you: "Concentration first, then distribution, is the law of grace and charity; you cannot give unless you have, and if you have, give you must."

OUR CONTRIBUTORS

Dr. Morton S. Enslin is Professor of New Testament Literature and Exegesis in Crozer Theological Seminary. The article appearing herein is the address which he delivered at the Matriculation Exercises of the Seminary on Monday, October 3, 1938.

Dr. John T. MacNeill is Professor of the History of European Christianity in the Divinity School of the University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill.

Rev. Bertram Crocker, B.D. Crozer, 1930, is pastor of the First Baptist Church, Rye, N. H.

Dr. Elmer W. Powell, Crozer, 1902, recently resigned as pastor of the Mantua Baptist Church, Philadelphia, which he had served since 1931. He is now engaged in literary activities.

Rev. George B. MacDonald, B. D., is pastor of the First Baptist Church, Germantown, Pa. We publish his Presidential Address delivered to the Baptist Ministers' Conference of Philadelphia and Vicinity on Monday, September 12, 1938.

Mrs. Oscar E. Mertz, author of "The Listener in the Pew," is Director of the American Unitarian Association. Her paper was read at the Speech Forum and Festival held at the Seminary on Tuesday, November 29, 1938, under the direction of Mrs. Mary Rose Collins, Instructor in Public Speaking at Crozer. The address elicited so many expressions of appreciation that it was decided to have it published in THE QUARTERLY.

BOOK REVIEWS

THE ETERNAL WORD IN THE MODERN WORLD. B. S. Eaton and H. C. Robbins. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1938. Pp. 317. $2.50.

A HOMILETICAL aid designed to stimulate expository preaching. The passages in Scripture which are used in the expositions are taken in the order of the readings from the Gospels and epistles which are assigned in the Episcopal Church according to the Church Year. For each Sunday there are liturgical notes, followed by exegetical suggestions for the interpretation of the appointed selections and a sermon theme based thereon. The authors are liberal evangelicals taking full account of historical criticism in their expositions. Even though one may not desire to follow the scheme of the Church Year, these studies will supply valuable aid in enhancing the power and persuasion of the pulpit.

GORDON POTEAT.

THE FIRST EPISTLE OF PAUL TO THE CORINTHIANS. James Moffatt. New York: Harper and Brothers. 1938. Pp. xxxii, 286. $3.50.

IT IS sufficient to announce the appearance of another volume in the Moffatt New Testament Commentary. This is the fifteenth volume to appear and the second by Doctor Moffatt, who is the editor of the series and the translator of the version upon which the commentaries are based. Doctor Moffatt illuminates the letter with light from contemporary Greek and Roman literature as well as Rabbinic writings. Quotations and illustrations from our own time bring the thought of Paul into vital contact with our own needs.

GORDON POTEAT.

THE CHURCH THROUGH THE CENTURIES. Cyril Charles Richardson. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1938. Pp. 255. $2.50.

A READABLE book by the brilliant young Assistant Professor of Church History in Union Theological Seminary, New York. The word "church" has suffered much from the richness of its meaning and the variety of its interpretation. The purpose of the book is to give an account of the various concepts of the church through the centuries. The author begins with an outline of the church in the early centuries, describes the influence of Augustine upon it and the political background; delineates the church in the Middle Ages and traces the roots of the Reformation. The concluding sections deal with the church of the Reformation and of today. It is a graphic account filled with fine character sketches of great leaders and stirring descriptions of important events in the history of the institution. He interprets this history in such a way as to throw a flood of light on the problems confronting the church today. His scholarly insight, combined with an alert sensitiveness in the moral and spiritual issues of our own generation, makes the past throb with meaning. The concluding chapter on American Protestantism and Reunion is very contemporary. For any one who desires more knowledge of what the church has meant and means today in the divergent traditions this book is valuable.

ELMER W. POWELL.

The History of the Episcopal Church in Japan. H. St. George Tucker. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1938. Pp. 228. $2.00.

Doctor Tucker is the presiding Bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Church; Bishop of Virginia and sometime Bishop of Kyoto, Japan. The book contains the Hale Lectures delivered in the Seabury-Western Theological Seminary. It is a readable book. It shows the development of religion in the pre-Christian period of Japanese history, the first missionary work in Japan by Francis Xavier, in 1549, and the tragic extirpation of Christianity a century later. Tracing the development of religious thought during the "Period of Exclusion," from 1638 to the arrival of Commodore Perry in 1853, Bishop Tucker describes the work of the Episcopal missionaries, explains the obstacles they had to remove, and outlines the gradual breaking down of the Japanese governmental belief that Christianity was a danger to the national welfare. It is a thrilling story of heroism against almost insurmountable odds, an authoritative and interesting historical record.

Elmer W. Powell.

It Began in Galilee: A Study in Revolutionary Christianity. Reginald J. Barker. Nashville: Cokesbury Press. 1938. Pp. 317. $2.50.

Mr. Barker is the director of the Methodist Central Mission in Tonypandy and is "one of the most intelligent and progressive social workers in Great Britain." The thesis discussed is that "personal and social religion is inseparable . . . and is revolutionary in the life of the individual and in the rectification of the social order." "Right relations between man and man are inseparable from right relations between man and God." "The trouble is that evangelism has had too limited a range." "There is no social gospel—the gospel is social." It is impossible "to fall back on the crudities of second adventism. We must substitute the word 'personal' for those relations we have falsely divorced into individual and social, and so declare that the kingdom of God has no meaning outside of human relations. . . The revolutionary character of the kingdom of God died away or survived in a crude millenarianism which promised little but disaster to the mass of mankind."

The love which we have for God and the love which we have for our neighbor are not separable; they are one in experience. This book is the sober reaction of a Methodist Missioner's long experience in facing the hard conditions of British cities. Pastors and evangelistic conferences need this book which is contemporary in its treatment and outlook. "It was unfortunate that many who became sensitive to the need of social righteousness and to the agonies of the poor and oppressed, swung over to social service in reaction from the evangelism and a spiritual experience which seemed to be narrowly individualistic and too otherworldly to take into its range the needs of men in their relations with one another."

Elmer W. Powell.

The Validity of Religious Experience. F. E. England. New York: Harper and Brothers. 1938. Pp. 288. $2.50.

In a time when such eminent persons as President Cyrus Adler insist there is a wide-spread revival of interest in religion the validity of religious experience is a problem of utmost importance to both groping non-religionists and lifelong believers. The appearance of Professor F. E. England's *The Validity of Religious*

Experience this year is timely. His discussions of the problem are gratifying in that they present a point of view that must be deep-seated in the return of religion if the resurgence is not to wreck on the rocks of sentimentalism and emotionalism. What Professor England describes as "a solid basis for religious conviction, alike in the realms of epistemology and metaphysics" (Preface, p. vii) is at the present juncture in the history of religion foundationally important.

The book shows thorough knowledge of the historical periods in theology and of their outstanding treatises; yet the author does not dump his erudition on the reader wholesale, but he writes in such a manner that the lay reader may profit. The thought of the volume is keen and profound, and the style is at the same time clear. To these qualities this passage bears witness: "That which constitutes personality is self-consciousness and the power of self-determination; that which constitutes a moral person is the consciousness of absolute obligation; but that which constitutes a religious person is the awareness of a yet higher order, a spiritual order, which not only lays a powerful constraint upon him but excites in him a feeling of adoration and an impulse to worship" (p. 91). There are passages, too, which show elevated and chastened emotion while the argument is thorough and a good index is an enjoyable aid.

The problem the author sets himself is attacked by the following steps: After considering the religious datum, he goes on to clarify for his purposes the concept of personality. He then steps into the deeps by discussing religious experience, first its genesis, then its contents. He finds his discussions involve him in questions of subjectivism and humanism and in empirical and a priori considerations. Next, with the penetrating insight of a talented theologian, he advances to his matters of ultimate concern. He investigates the nature of apprehension, and last, after having traversed the inevitable epistemological ground, he turns finally to the Supreme Object of religious experience.

The timeliness, the suggestiveness, the procedural thoroughness, and the brevity of the book make it a very valuable influence in the world of religion today.

Wilbur Spencer Sheriff.

War and the Christian. Charles E. Raven, Regius Professor of Divinity in the University of Cambridge and Canon of Ely. New York: The Macmillan Company. 1938. Pp. 186. $1.75.

Of all the many books on the theme of pacifism, this one is far above average. The author demonstrates an excellent combination of insight into history, knowledge of pacifism, and sound sense. His approach is realistic and highly commendable. He has packed into its relatively few pages the pros and cons connected with the eternal question: "Should a Christian participate in war?"

For anyone who has followed the mental gyrations of those Christians who during the World War pronounced it a "Holy War" the following will be of interest:

"War is evil and for the Christian a flat denial of his faith. That is, I am convinced, the belief of every thinking person outside the churches. They realize, more clearly than we do, that by no ingenuity of exegesis can the teaching and life of Jesus be reconciled with war as it is today, and they are amazed that we who profess discipleship have not made that discovery long ago. Why is it that we have been so slow to acknowledge it?"

His own personal experience has been of great value to him in estimating the problem of the Christian's relation to war.

"As one who was not a pacifist in 1914, nor for at least fifteen years afterwards, and who now is convinced that he was then mistaken, the author may at least claim to have a personal and sincere experience of them both. Though he has done his best to read and appreciate the literature on both sides, he must admit that from the Christian standpoint he believes that there is really no serious answer to the pacifist arguments: at least he has not yet discovered it."

Professor Raven does not stop there but goes on to point out the necessity for constructive, united action on the part of all Christians to make war a thing of the past.

RAY H. ABRAMS.

WHAT HAS CHRISTIANITY TO SAY? F. R. Barry. New York and London: Harper Brothers. 1938. Pp. v, 192. $2.00.

THOSE familiar with Canon Barry's previously stimulating books cannot avoid some disappointment in reading this book. The title may be at fault, for it raises the expectations of those who are deeply concerned in finding ways for developing effectively the Christian society. Throughout the book is woven a strong theological pattern as the foundation for Christian action. The disappointing thing is that for many Christians this reiterates many of their own current beliefs. For example, we all believe that the Christian task is to make men aware of their God-given possibilities, and we are in agreement that men's loyalties and desires must be redirected toward the things of the spirit. We are one in suggesting that our religion must come to terms with evil and offer men victory and power over evil. What Christianity has to say about the ways we do this remains the unanswered question. Herein lies our disappointment.

Nevertheless, there is much in Barry's theology that is stimulating to those who agree in general with his position.

In the last half of the book, the author does make some helpful suggestions. He says, of Christianity, "It must be able to make sense of life and interpret human experience as a whole better than any alternative explanation. And it must enable men to cope with life, intellectually, morally, and spiritually, and perhaps physically too, more satisfactorily than its rivals. If it really is the truth about life, then by it human life must be fulfilled and its inner contradiction transcended" (p. 125). Further, the author feels that the problem for good men today is whether or not there is a standard upon which to base our lives. The church must release to Christians the guidance and power of the living Christ and keep the channels of man's spirit in sensitive response to the Divine Will. Finally, it is for Christians to show what can be done by faith, sympathy, and imagination in all situations. What we need is Christians who are willing to stand firmly together for the convictions of Christ. Indeed, there are many fine things about the book, but to this reviewer it did not seem to be quite up to par.

RONALD V. WELLS.

CONTEMPORARY CONTINENTAL THEOLOGY. Walter M. Horton. New York: Harper and Brothers. 1938. Pp. 246. $2.00.

THAT American theologians should take account of European theology is not a new suggestion, but that Protestants should come to grips with contemporary

Roman Catholic and Greek Orthodox theology on the Continent will be a new thought to many. Professor Horton demonstrates in this book, which follows his interpretation of English theology, why this should be so. The crisis in Europe as it affects the Christian church is compelling the advocates of the Christian view of life, whether Protestant or Catholic, to consult each other's minds. That we are not in such a desperate situation does not guarantee that the future holds no such fate for us. American ministers as well as teachers of theology ought by all means to acquaint themselves with the Continental tides of thought which are so well interpreted in this volume.

Included in this survey of Continental theologians is a section on Scottish theology which Professor Horton says is closer to Europe than to England, and "is the natural bridge between Continental Protestantism and the Anglo-Saxon world." The thought of Berdyaev and Bulgakoff is first studied as representative of the new movement in Russian Orthodox theology. Then Jacques Maritain of France and Erich Przywara of Germany as representatives of vital currents in modern Roman Catholicism. Karl Barth is the center around which movements pro and con in German, Scandinavian, Dutch and French Protestant thought are treated and we are introduced to thinkers less well-known than Barth, but quite as important, if not more important than the famous Swiss professor.

Continental theology is not theology *in vacue.* The men who are here brought before us are not detached scholars. Rather they are protagonists in a terrific struggle and some of them will surely be remembered in the history of the church as Titans who fought and turned the pagan forces of secularism in an apocalyptic hour.

GORDON POTEAT.

THE ARCHER OF PARADISE. Reva Stanley. Caldwell, Idaho: The Caxton Printers. 1937. Pp. 349. $3.00.

THIS biography of Parley P. Pratt, the author's great-grandfather, is a story of the early experiences of the Mormons from their rise in New York State until their settlement in Utah. Pratt was one of the twelve original disciples of the Church of Latter-day Saints, who became a Mormon before meeting Joseph Smith, and who, upon meeting him, became bound to him by bonds of undying loyalty. In those early years he was their most active missionary, an advance agent in Missouri, preacher and editor in England, missionary on the Pacific Coast and in South America. Not highly intellectual, he was a man of magnificent physique, sincere in his convictions, almost fanatically loyal to his superiors and tireless in promoting the cause—thus his characterization by a reporter of the New York *Sun,* "The Archer of Paradise."

The intimate story, related largely from an autobiography of the subject, tells more clearly than could a history the psychological, sociological and religious reasons for the origin and growth of the Mormons. Born of old New England stock in Burlington, New York, in 1807, Pratt was of the same social heritage as well as the same social and physical environments as Joseph Smith, born in Sharon, Vermont, in 1805. Hard beyond imagination was the conquest of the lonely wilderness of the West, and men seemingly needed the revelations of new methods and means for its subjection. Some received them in orthodox revivals, others in strange, fantastic visions and voices.

Opposed at first to "plural wives," Pratt finally accepted Smith's revelation, largely because of his faith in him. He had twelve wives and more than a score of children, and was murdered at fifty years of age at Van Buren, Arkansas, by Hector McLean, who accused Pratt of having stolen his wife.

Impartially the story tells of the bitter opposition to the Mormons in all States and of the internal bickerings of shrewd, ambitious leaders.

R. E. E. Harkness.

Alcohol One Man's Meat. Edward A. Strecker, A.M., M.D., and Francis T. Chambers, Jr. New York: The Macmillan Company. 1938. Pp. xvi, 230. $2.50.

That groups of people all over the country are awakening to the necessity of coming to grips with the problems resulting from the consumption of alcohol is evident on all sides. The American Association for the Advancement of Science announces the launching of an organization of nearly a hundred distinguished scientists and educators from various sections of the country to make a "thorough unbiased and strictly scientific investigation of the problem related to the control of alcoholic beverages and to seek solutions through a program of unprejudiced research and education."

One of the authors of this book, Doctor Strecker, is a member of the above group, and in its pages one discerns that scientific objectivity that is so needed in research and discussion of results. The question of alcoholic beverages is not often brought before us with such sincere attempts at weighing all the facts. Yet, the authors, in the reviewer's estimation, have not always carried their point, and certainly rest some of their conclusions about human behavior on rather unscientific assumptions. They have a tendency at times to use old labels that are convenient but actually tell us nothing. For example: "constitutional psycopathic inferior." That description is sometimes used to explain criminal behavior, lack of insight or appreciation of ethical values, etc., as well as alcoholism, but it has largely been abandoned because, for the most part, it covers up our ignorance and is frequently a most unscientific diagnosis.

Nevertheless, in spite of the above criticisms, the authors have produced a timely work on the effect of pronounced drinking on the human machine and personality. It is particularly valuable in explaining the psychic mechanisms back of the urge to overindulge in alcohol. Unfortunately, as they point out,

" . . . the helpful approach of the physician to the alcoholic problem is somewhat complicated by the attitude of the general public, which still tends to regard alcoholism solely as an ethical problem, to be cured only by punishment or prayer."

The authors, out of their own medical experience, which is considerable, outline the procedure which seems to be at all effective in treating the majority of alcoholics.

For clergymen, this book should contain valuable material and suggestions for an understanding of those "victims of drink" and should make it easier for ministers to cooperate in a program for their recovery.

Ray H. Abrams.

THE FIRST FIVE CENTURIES OF THE CHURCH. James Moffatt, D.D., Washburn Professor of Church History, Union Theological Seminary, New York. Nashville: Cokesbury Press. 1938. Pp. 262. $2.00.

A NEW book by Professor Moffatt is an event worthy of special record. It informs and inspires inquiry. Old material is presented with the "bite and breadth" which he describes as characterizing one of the books he commends. In a book of such brevity as this new volume, much material new to the general reader is presented. The amount of information compressed in so readable a book awakens wonder.

An outstanding feature is the parallel arrangement of events in the secular and ecclesiastical worlds, in chronological order, so that happenings in each can be readily related. Such a table begins each chapter, and when mastered the narrative portions following, illustrating the action and reaction of church and environment, have the literary charm of a story.

A sufficiently exhaustive bibliography of fifty-one pages tempts further investigation into the creative and conquering centuries of the church. I wish such a volume as this had come into my possession years ago, but it could not have been written then. Years of research and of teaching have gone into its making.

MILTON G. EVANS.

PURITY OF HEART IS TO WILL ONE THING. Søren Kierkegaard. Translated from the Danish, with an Introductory Essay by Douglas V. Steere. New York: Harper and Brothers. 1938. Pp. xxvi, 207. $2.00.

IN THIS first translated volume of "Edifying Addresses" by the Dane who is often regarded as "the father of dialectical theology" (d. 1855), we find a penetrating analysis of the individual in relation to his final fate. These brief talks, cast in the form of sermons to be read instead of to be preached, are set before the background of the soul's ultimate destiny. They attempt to reveal the duplicity, the cleverness, the insincerity, the egoism, and the covetousness of men in saying their motives are single, when in reality they are given to double-mindedness. In a real sense this book may be described as a series of exposures of the double-mindedness to which our kind is so susceptible.

The biblical setting of the entire series of talks is found in James 4:8: "Draw nigh to God and he will draw nigh to you. Cleanse your hands, ye sinners; and purify your hearts of double-mindedness."

The endeavor is made to show how the pure in heart—those who will but one thing—see God and draw nigh to Him. Before the revelation is made as to how this is accomplished, however, several talks on double-mindedness are presented, disclosing how a mixture of motives results in willing more than one thing and hence in alienating oneself from God. The barriers to willing one thing are willing for reward, willing because of fear of punishment, willing because of an egocentric service of the good, and willing only partial commitment.

To will one thing is to will the Good, for only the Good is a unity. But more than that, to will one thing is to will the Good in Truth. This involves the willingness to commit oneself to the Truth, to be loyal to it, and to be ready to suffer *all* for it. Without such willingness, one is not pure in heart, for one's motives are mixed. The soul is sundered. Its possessor cannot stand as a single, unified individual before God.

Perhaps the most important thing that can be said for this volume is that it is a healthy book for a collectivistic or totalitarian-minded generation. It reasserts in ringing tones the solitariness of each person and of his ultimate destination when he will stand as an individual before God. "Each man himself, as an individual, should render his account to God. No third person dares venture to intrude upon this accounting between God and the individual." (Page 168.) "My listeners, do you at present live in such a way that you are yourself clearly and eternally conscious of being an individual?" (Page 179.) "For as only one thing is necessary, and as the theme of the talk is the willing of only one thing: hence the consciousness before God of one's eternal responsibility to be an individual is that one thing necessary." (Page 182.) It is because of this emphasis that Kierkegaard dedicates this volume to "That Solitary Individual." For obvious reasons such a volume could gain no publication rights in Germany or Italy.

This book should have a place on the shelf of every minister for two reasons. First, to be used as a devotional manual. Secondly, as a text-book to cause him to rethink periodically his motivation as he faces the eternal question: "Is purity of heart mine because I have willed the Good in Truth?"

George W. Davis.

A Working Faith for the World. Hugh Vernon White. New York: Harper and Brothers. 1938. Pp. x, 213. $2.00.

Here we have an honest attempt to state the function of religion in the life of the world, and to find which religion can meet the present world-situation. Doctor White states the essential function of religion to be "to supply any human society with ideal objectives and with a unifying faith that will give significance and value to human life." The author's first problem is to discover, through comparing the major living religions, just which one, or what form of religion, "can furnish the world with a unifying faith able to live in the light of free history and free science and lead men confidently to a conquest of the hates and fears that fill the world with foreboding."

Through the process of elimination, Christianity is found to be the one faith capable of satisfying the religious needs of this generation. The nationalistic faiths are ruled out because "they support and sanction the very divisions of men which create endless conflict." Hinduism will not do because, through its support of the doctrine of karma, it is committed to an unprogressive society. The fatalism of Islam eliminates it as a possible religion to meet the needs of the modern world. This fatalism, rooted in the absolute sovereignty of God, has rendered Islam reactionary and productive of moral inertia. Buddhism is eliminated as a possibility because, through its quietism and excessive individualism, it supports those types of individualism and social irresponsibility which have cursed China. Christianity, on the other hand, represents a religion which has, as natural effects upon civilization, the following:

"(1) an ethical impulse which expresses itself not merely in zeal for personal morality, but also in developing forms of human service and a profound concern for human welfare;

"(2) a stimulus to education and the full development of intellectual and moral powers;

"(3) the encouragement of social responsibility and cooperative effort for the general improvement of human life."

Why a world mission for Christianity? The answer lies in the fact that "Christianity has the clearest revelation of God's will and nature. It represents the great historic discovery of religious truth which came after centuries of progress in the Hebrew prophetic line and found full expression in the experience and life of Jesus Christ."

The modern emphasis upon sharing the Christian experience indicates "that the missionary already has in himself something so valuable that everybody ought to have it." But missionary work is more than sharing. In its essence, it is the endeavor to put the non-Christian man "in the way of having his own experience of Christ and making his discoveries of spiritual truth."

There are two poles of the Christian movement in its world expression; namely, the Church and the indirect effects of the Christian religion upon the non-Christian community. Doctor White is thoroughly convinced of the indispensability of the Church. "I make the affirmation that the Church is the most important agency for the progress of Christianity. . . The core of the Christian movement, therefore, is and always will be the Church itself."

But equally as noticeable as the establishment of the Church in non-Christian lands are the indirect effects of the Christian mission upon other societies. The introducing of social service work into Buddhism, for instance, is due to the influence of Christianity. Thus we see that the ethical standards and attitudes of non-Christian peoples are being modified by the impact of Christian thought and Christian living.

The goals of Christianity in history are stated to be Christian Truth, Christian Personality, and Christian Community. The last seventy pages of the book are devoted to an exposition of these.

The chief value of this volume is that it leads to the rethinking of the distinctive elements Christianity has to offer the world and stimulates the desire to use Christianity as a world-saving force. The book contains many vital suggestions which will be valuable to every minister in the missionary program in church and pulpit.

George W. Davis.

The Christian Message in the Non-Christian World. Hendrik Kraemer. New York: Harper and Brothers. 1938. Pp. 455. $3.00.

In the annals of the Christian Church and its modern missionary interests, "Madras 1938" will follow consecutively after "Edinburgh 1910" and "Jerusalem 1928." Prepared for advance study in anticipation of the Conference's deliberations regarding "The Witness of the Church" (the second major division of the Conference program), this volume by the Professor of the History of Religions at the University of Leyden offers a contribution of the first magnitude.

Such a weighty discussion of "The Christian Faith and the Christian Ethic" as is found in Chapter III seems to move up into the category of the first major theme on the Conference agenda, "The Faith by which the Church Lives," and makes it unmistakably clear that this presentation, for which the most adequately

descriptive adjectives seem to be *massive* or *momentous,* will have to be taken into account in circles far beyond Madras.

Theologically, the author is apparently in close sympathy with the theological movement associated with the names of Barth and Brunner, probably more with the latter. Practically acquainted, through first-hand missionary experience in the Dutch East Indies with Oriental culture and thought, when he discusses "The Non-Christian Systems of Life and Thought" (Chapters V and VI) and "The Present Religious Situation in the Non-Christian World" (Chapter VII), Professor Kraemer writes familiarly as one thoroughly at home, and he leaves no doubt as to his position with regard to Christianity in relation to the non-Christian systems. It is a disappointment that he slips into the naïve assumption that "the non-Christian world" comprises the world of "primitive" peoples, India, China, Japan and Islam.

The emphasis upon a "Biblical Realism" in the early part of the book, with its correlative criticism of "religious relativism," prepares us for his opposition to the fundamental relativism of the nationalistic religions of the Orient and his objections to "syncretism" and "sharing religious experience" in the discussion of "The Missionary Approach" (Chapters VIII and IX), as well as his sharp comment on referring to men like Gandhi and Tagore as "unbaptized Christians." There is little confusion of thought, sometimes a profundity that summons a philosopher, and no mistaking his position. The Christian message is interpreted from the view-point of an uncompromising Christian absolutism based upon the character of the Christian revelation of God and of his holy will.

His dogmatic statement regarding the Christian Ethic, to the effect that "the ways of the Christian ethic and the ethics of 'values' and 'goods' part company" (page 86) is irreconcilable with Professor Wieman's "Growth of Meaning and Value" as a manifestation of God. With the keenest recognition of the notable contribution of this volume, one can but hope that the place of reason in religion, particularly as represented by American theological opinion, will not lack adequate interpreters at Madras.

L. Clayton Kitchen.

The Right to Believe. J. S. Whale. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1938. Pp. 132. $1.25.

In this series of brief addresses the President of Chesnut College, Cambridge University, lays upon our hearts "the burden of the world's divine regret." Throughout this short volume one is overwhelmed time and again by the consciousness that the seeds of great tragedy are sprouting in the soil of our generation. Disaster seems imminent with the clicking of rifles and the roaring of guns. But even in such a world we have "the right to believe" in Christ the Redeemer, the Church, the life everlasting, and the neighborliness of God. The main emphasis of the book is found in the belief that Jesus is indispensable for the solution of the problems of our time.

This brief volume will be treasured by preachers particularly for its scintillating insights, its many apt illustrations, and its frank presentation of the centricity of Jesus.

George W. Davis.

THE REDISCOVERY OF MAN. Henry C. Link, Ph.D. New York: The Macmillan Company. 1938. Pp. ix, 257. $1.75.

THIS book is a fitting sequel to *The Return to Religion,* by the same author, published two years ago, which has been widely read because of its unique and valuable discussion of psychology and religion. The present volume is concerned with the "rediscovery of man and the powers of which he is capable when his mind has been freed of the prevailing fallacies about himself." These pessimistic fallacies the writer attacks vigorously. He denies the tacit assumption that personality cannot be improved, and deprecates social studies which cause folks to look upon themselves as "victims of their economic environment." He declares man to be "a being far greater than either the theories or machines he has created."

Doctor Link defines personality as "the extent to which the individual has developed habits and skills which interest and serve other people." His "Personality Quotient" is designed to measure a person's deeds, as over against the I. Q., which measures a person's knowledge.

The author pays his respects to the psychiatrist and psychoanalyst in no uncertain terms, charging them with "destroying the foundations of character and personality." He maintains that it is "not rest but a program of energy-consuming action" that most neurasthenic people need. He decries social paternalism, parental or national, including subsidized marriage, and free higher education.

One of the strongest chapters in the book is devoted to the psychology of sportsmanship. It is the conviction of the writer that sportsmanship should be "embodied in every phase of life, so that its lessons may be well learned." Games are played in accordance with the rules, which may not be altered at the whim of the players. In personality, "the substitution of a personal standard for an impersonal standard inevitably results in the disintegration of will power."

Doctor Link declares that "after centuries of painful progress toward freedom and democracy, the world is moving back into social slavery." The steps to this are the conception that man is "the victim of the very world which he has created," that social security can save man "from his own helplessness," that the new liberalism justifies the making of new rules for one's own life.

Christianity is presented as the one philosophy, "the very heart of which is personality." Jesus is declared to be "the greatest living personality in the world today." His great gift is a "concept of freedom through the moral law." Psychology now confirms the method proclaimed by Jesus through prophetic insight. To sum up, "personality is the result of faith rather than of reason, of action more than of thought, of observing the laws rather than of interpreting them into new laws."

It is too much to expect that this volume will be received with universal approval, nevertheless it must not be overlooked as a well-designed effort to bridge the gap between the "wish-bone" and the "backbone." Ministers, teachers and parents should find it especially useful.

RITTENHOUSE NEISSER.

THE CHRIST. A. Wendell Ross. New York: Fleming H. Revell Company. 1938. Pp. 222. $2.00.

IN THIS volume the author succeeds well in his purpose to encourage those "who still are striving to lead the good life." In language easily understood and with

simple, common, but striking figures of speech, he presents his message of hope through the saving love of God made known by the authority and power of Christ.

The book is narrow in its view of the nature of the Bible, but broad in its application of the principles of Christ to the relationships of men. The writer is essentially a preacher, so that homiletical admonitions abound. Some of his strictures upon his brethren are severe. He declares that the present generation is "the most insincere since the days of Christ," and that, "preachers today, with but few exceptions, are cowards and hirelings." He is unsparing in his condemnation of all forms of evil.

The work is interesting and well calculated to stiffen the moral backbone. To some it may seem overburdened with long quotations from the Scriptures. These, however, are to the point, and conserve the reader's time as well as save him from the distraction of looking up frequent references.

RITTENHOUSE NEISSER.

THE LIGHT OF THE BIBLE. Vernon F. Storr. New York: Harper and Brothers. 1938. Pp. 126. $1.25.

THE headings of the first two chapters indicate the author's purpose in writing the book. He presents the Bible as "A Neglected Book," unread because of the decline of interest in religion and the changing views concerning the nature of the Scriptures, and as "The New Book," whose pages are understood more clearly in the light thrown upon them by the labors of modern scholars.

After a bird's-eye view of the Old Testament and an interesting summary of the contents of the New, the author devotes a chapter to the work of the prophets, and another to the teachings of the Bible concerning "The Living God." He then takes the reader through some of the by-paths of the Scriptures, pointing out rare passages of delightful charm. The last chapter recounts in stirring fashion four of the greatest stories in the Bible.

This is a timely volume. It deals with the Bible reverently and loyally, and at the same time offers help to those who are disturbed by current questions concerning the sacred book. It will be found of special value to young people who are meeting these questions for the first time.

RITTENHOUSE NEISSER.

PSYCHOLOGY SERVING RELIGION. Richard D. Hollington. New York: The Abingdon Press. 1938. Pp. 248. $2.00.

THE author is an M.D. and a Ph.D. in psychology, and has to his credit thirty years in the pastoral ministry. Together these constitute a high degree of presumption that the writer is competent. Our judgment is that the thoughtful reader will not be disappointed. The book does not aim to make a psychiatrist out of the average minister, but it does look toward making him a wise and understanding "shepherd of the flock." For, after all, the psychologist, like the minister, is interested in the human soul; a religionist therefore might write, "Religion Serving Psychology," and really help many psychologists to a better understanding. Each has a contribution to make to the other.

Doctor Hollington has a habit of defining terms and describing processes which will be most helpful to the minister who is anxious to become oriented in this new field. In other words, his book is as non-technical as one could conceive.

Four "Books" constitute the general structure of this volume; namely, "The

Genesis of the Soul," "Normal Adjustment," "Maladjustment," and "Readjustment." In fifteen chapters the author adequately covers the whole range of current psychological thinking, particularly as it impinges upon religion. I feel that the book will meet a real need among us older ministers whose formal education ended before the rise of contemporary psychology, and whose busy lives make it difficult to keep abreast of history-making thought.

W. R. McNutt.

A Guide to Understanding the Bible. The development of ideas within the Old and New Testaments. Harry Emerson Fosdick. New York: Harper and Brothers. 1938. Pp. xvi, 348. $3.00.

This volume, announced as "perhaps the greatest work" of the author, is not unworthy of such praise. The titles of successive chapters are: the idea of God, of man, of right and wrong, of suffering, of fellowship with God, and of immortality. If this analysis of biblical thought is reminiscent of an old dialectic, the whole treatment savors of the new. Some topics much prized a generation ago, as inspiration, messiah, etc., occupy but scant space or are entirely omitted; others, as sin, appear under a new nomenclature, right and wrong; and the treatment of each theme, in the light of the development of biblical thought, is inductive rather than deductive. While easy to read, it is essentially a study-book, in reality a popular introduction to the growth of the great ideas in the Bible. Though not exhaustive, the apposite biblical material touching each idea presented is convincingly comprehensive.

For the body of the book none but words of appreciation are in order. As a summary of scholarship it is excellent; the story of the development of great ideas, amid the stress of economic, social and international conflicts, is clearly told with good perspective, and the vital religious movements are never obscured. The bibliography has been judiciously selected, while the index of subjects and names is a model of efficiency. The reviewer wishes for the book a wide reading by pastors and laymen, the top of the list of best-sellers, and a preferred place among the Book of the Month Clubs.

I. G. Matthews.

Locality and Doctrine in the Gospels. Robert Henry Lightfoot. New York and London: Harper and Brothers. 1938. Pp. x, 166. $2.50.

This is distinctly not "just another book on the gospels except for a singularly uninspiring title." It is a small volume, but it is a very important one. Few books which I have read in recent years have stimulated and intrigued me as has this one. If Professor Lightfoot is correct in his main contention—and I must confess I am deeply impressed by his argument—the simple gospel (not to mention the "simple gospels") is a deal less simple than simple people have been wont to think.

That doctrine could be obtained from the gospels has long been recognized; that the gospels raise problems of locality has also been well known: Where was "Bethany beyond the Jordan?" Was the demoniac a Gerasene or a Gadarene? Was the scene of the Feeding of the Five Thousand on the east or west shore of the Sea of Galilee? Where did John baptize? Did Jesus spend but a week in Jerusalem at the end of an unbroken ministry in Galilee or was he constantly commuting to Jerusalem to attend one feast or another? But the reader who expects a discussion of problems of this sort is in for a distinct jolt. Professor Lightfoot

is not concerned with theological doctrines which may be deduced from the gospels but rather to show that doctrines which the evangelists themselves held led them to reshape drastically their materials, often at the complete expense of history; that, for example, the traditional outline of Jesus' ministry—first a period in Galilee, then a trip south, finally a shorter period in Jerusalem—rests upon no more solid foundation than the belief of Mark that Galilee was the land divinely chosen as the sphere of revelation or "area of salvation," while Jerusalem was the scene only of rejection, whence the disciples were to flee to Galilee for the expected consummation—not resurrection appearance, but the Parousia of the Son of Man.

The volume contains six lectures. The last four were delivered at University College of North Wales; interest aroused in these lectures led him to amplify his views regarding the abrupt ending of Mark. This material (our first two lectures) was subsequently delivered at Oxford. The other four lectures are concerned primarily with the resurrection narratives and the narratives of the ministry.

The original ending of Mark has not been lost. The words, "And they said nothing to any one; for they were afraid," are satisfactory both as to form and content. To harp on the impossibility of ending with γάρ ("for") reminds one of the axiom of the English teacher: "A preposition is a poor word to end a sentence with." Even if modern professors disapprove, Greeks did not hesitate to do it. To the list of passages already noted where precisely this alleged impossibility occurs, Lightfoot adds several others.

The absence of appearances of the risen Jesus has seemed to many critics probably unconsciously influenced by the endings of the other gospels, an equal difficulty. To me this difficulty, like the linguistic one, has long seemed entirely imaginary and the ending a terse and dramatic epilogue, indicating a knowledge of such appearances but actually heightening the effect by failing to describe them. Here Lightfoot dissents. We are probably wrong in assuming that Mark is a witness to appearances in Galilee. Mark 16:7, he feels, apparently means, "He goeth before you into Galilee—it is there you shall see his Parousia from heaven as the son of man —as he said unto you." No wonder the women were terrified: The end, not of the ministry, but of the age was at hand! And as a good form critic should, Professor Lightfoot suggests that the resulting "fear" and "silence" of the women reflect the first period of silence in the early church—hope and expectation of the near fulfilment struggling with awe and fear. To a large degree Matthew shares Mark's view: "And all this divine energy and power is to radiate from the mountain-top in Galilee; not from Jerusalem, nor from the Jewish church and nation as it now is or has become, but from Galilee, from amidst the eleven disciples is to be made known to all the nations the message of the consummated action, and the community of the redeemed is to be continuously instructed in obedience to their Lord's commands" (p. 72). Luke, on the contrary, maintains that by and with the resurrection the Lord has already entered on his glory; all that remains is to withdraw to the Father's side. Thus for him resurrection appearances are of paramount value; and they occur in the neighborhood of Jerusalem, a city which, while the scene of guilt, is no less the city of Jesus' love. The supreme importance which Mark (and to a measure Matthew) lay on Galilee as the scene of ultimate importance for the ministry and for its eschatological consummation in the Parousia is not shared by Luke. Three districts—Galilee, Samaria, Jerusalem—are equally the scene of his ministry. But this view rests as little on historical considerations as does Mark's; once again doctrinal views lead to this schematization: "Jesus is

primarily Messiah, the lawful king of Israel, who receives the throne of his father David, and will be king over the house of David for ever" (p. 193).

Enough has been said to suggest the originality of this little book; perhaps not enough to indicate that from being the fantastic brainstorm of one striving to be different it is a very closely reasoned and cogently presented thesis that has far more wheat than chaff. It would be premature to attempt a final judgment. Many of his contentions will need to be deeply pondered before a final assent or dissent. In the case of one I can utter a hearty, if premature, dissent, *viz.,* his avoidance of capitals and quotation marks. It will take a long time to become accustomed to "latin," "greek," "english," "bible," and "christian." To be sure, all of them have lost prestige in many circles. But do we need to glory in their shame?

MORTON S. ENSLIN.

MUST WE GO TO WAR? Kirby Page. New York: Farrar & Rinehart, Inc. 1937. Pp. 278. $1.00.

KIRBY PAGE needs no introduction to the American reading public. The book simply and coherently surveys the nature and causes of war, some possible preventives, and the responsibilities of individuals and religious bodies in alleviating present conditions and averting future reoccurrences. Those who have read the various pamphlets and writings of Mr. Page during the last fifteen years will find little new in his latest book. The virtue of the publication is that it places such timely information easily within the reach of the pocketbooks of those who may be interested in peacemaking.

The Socialist emphasis is stamped indelibly upon every page. Those who are not so certain as Mr. Page, of the economic implications of present world conflicts, cannot wholly digest his assumptions. The reviewer does feel, however, that the author goes a long way in justifiably convicting the aggressive nations for an indecent exposure of their moral and religious nudity. There is, though, a neglected emphasis upon the national divergencies of customs and temperaments in his suggested remedial treatments.

Mr. Page may be accused by some of lacking a deep sense of national patriotism because of his consistent and, the reviewer thinks, justifiable condemnation of the past and present foreign policies of our own country.

The book may prove especially adaptable and helpful if it is used as a basis for adolescent groups who may be interested in debating upon policies of war and peace.

KENNETH LLOYD GARRISON.

SOLITUDE AND SOCIETY. Nicolas Berdyaev. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1938. Pp. 203. $3.00.

IN THESE five meditations the author sets forth his "Existential" philosophy. Like other systems, this seems to be largely the product of his post-war experience. A former professor of philosophy in Moscow, now teaching in the Russian Seminary in Paris, Berdyaev is well acquainted with the tragedy of life. To him solitude is the tragedy of the self, while the self he regards as the proper study of the philosopher. Showing a profound acquaintance with the work of other philosophers in his early chapters, he indicates his opposition to determinism of every sort and

insists that the self is an entity with capacity for intellection and an outreach for other selves, especially the "Thou" or God. The knowledge which the self obtains is not subjective, as the idealists make it, nor imaginative as the romanticists would have it, but authentic. The self realizes itself in freedom, is hindered by objectification and while immutable in essence is constantly changing toward becoming a person. Thus the author is a personalist in philosophy. He is not a monist, for there is real dualism in the universe. There is a tinge of mysticism in his treatment of the communion of selves which reaches its climax in communion with God. In his emphasis on love and the kingdom of God we have a true Christian note. It is quite possible that this thinker is laying foundations for a philosophy of religion more satisfying than any we now have.

HOWARD WAYNE SMITH.

THE GOD WHOM WE IGNORE. John Kennedy. New York: The Macmillan Company. 1938. Pp. 260. $2.00.

THIS Church of Scotland minister in Cambuslang, an industrial quarter of Glasgow, where he has a church of eighteen hundred members and a weekly Bible class of more than five hundred, speaks out of his own experience, in an endeavor to arouse nominal Christians to a sense of their responsibilities. The lack of church attendance is deplored as an ignoring of God and as a cause of the church's impotence. Doctor Kennedy knows the parish minister's problems and evidently has solved many of them in his own work. The book contains no new thought and may be considered too diffuse and repetitious in expression, but it deals with real situations and may be suggestive to other ministers, whether they be Scotch Presbyterians or American Protestants of other names, who face the same difficulties. The earlier part of the book, dealing with the nature and importance of public worship, seems to the reviewer most valuable.

HOWARD WAYNE SMITH.

CHRISTIANITY AND ECONOMICS. Sir Josiah Stamp. Introduction by Rufus M. Jones. New York: The Macmillan Company. 1938. Pp. 191. $2.00.

THIS is one of the "Great Issues of Life Series," edited by Doctor Rufus Jones. The author, recently elevated to the Peerage in England, is a well-known economist and business man. As Director of the Bank of England and Chairman of the London, Midland and Scottish Railways, his experience qualifies him to deal with the economic side of his thesis, while his activities as an active Christian insure his sympathy with the Christian position. An initial reading of the book is, however, likely to annoy the conservative, literalist interpreter of the Scriptures believing in the "pure" gospel, and to irk the progressive herald of the "social" gospel alike. For the author speaks as an economist, an advocate of an impersonal science, and at the same time as a Christian, who cannot escape responsibilities created by the modern milieu. After the method of approach is discussed in the first chapter, Chapter II sketches a broad picture of the condition of the land in which Jesus lived at the time of his appearance there. The wide divergences between that time and the twentieth century are clearly indicated.

Chapter III gathers together all the teachings of Jesus which have any bearing on economic conditions. The conclusion here is that Jesus accepted those conditions and was concerned chiefly with spiritual compensations. He neither had a social system for his own times nor did he outline one for our time. The connection

between Christianity and economics is to be found in Christ's teaching that God's relations to men were universal, without distinction of race; that there was a new way of life or set of values in Jesus Christ; and that men must be thought of as objects of service and devotion.

Chapter IV sets down the story of the effect of Christian doctrine on economic affairs in the past and deals with usury or interest, slavery, the just price and the just wage, the Puritan thrifty business man, and the importance of individualism leading to many of our modern problems.

Chapter V recites the fundamental Christian principles. Christ's teaching had primarily a spiritual and not an economic bearing. Attempts to derive guidance in economic affairs from the letter of Scripture have generally failed. Scripture presents no form or plan of economic life, but the Christian impetus behind the moral betterment of the world and its standards has been enormous. This influence is due to the Christian principles of the brotherhood of man, stewardship, the doctrine of the good neighbor and the equality in value of each individual soul. The treatment of stewardship is especially enlightening.

Chapter VI gives the attitude of the present-day church by summarizing the Papal Encyclical Quadragesimo Anno, the pronouncement of the Oxford Conference in 1937 and the pamphlet of the Industrial Christian Fellowship. In these we have a picture of what churchmen are now thinking about the economic system.

The concluding chapter points out the seriousness of the lack of Christian doctrine now in dealing with problems of nationality and internationalism and the individual's place in his various groups. For solving these problems "the mind that was in Christ Jesus" can be incentive and guide. "Economist and preacher may well join hands as the architects of a nobler age and an advancing purpose."

HOWARD WAYNE SMITH.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF RELIGIOUS TOLERATION IN ENGLAND. W. K. Jordan, Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1938. Pp. 560. $5.00.

ABOUT ten years ago the Harvard University Committee on Research in the Social Sciences awarded a grant to Dr. W. K. Jordan to examine the sources covering the period in English history from the beginning of the Reformation until the granting of religious toleration. This has been usually regarded the most important period in English history. The present volume is the third to be published, and deals with the years from the Convention of the Long Parliament to the Restoration (1640-1660). The two earlier volumes occasioned such critical estimates by scholars as to make the present one yet more important as a source-book for inquirers.

Although the years covered are so few, the author finds a fourth volume necessary for adequate gathering of data and interpretation of their significance. Considering the time spent in preparation for publication, the concentration of attention on only twenty years, and the five hundred and sixty closely printed pages of the present volume, Doctor Jordan's work has not been inaptly described as monumental, though adjectives have lost significance in this age of radio and press advertising of tooth-powders, shaving-creams and best-sellers. Whether monumental or not, this work is timely in view of a too wide-spread indifference to religious and political minorities, and their historic contribution to human welfare. A reading of Doctor Jordan's volumes will remind one of the oft-forgotten truth,

"that history yields its blessings to mankind but slowly and painfully." It is timely, too, because it is an open question whether the present generation in its search for an economic Utopia is willing to suffer the tortures to maintain the liberties that the generation of Englishmen in the seventeenth century suffered to secure them. It would be well if *The Development of Religious Toleration in England* were made an assigned reading in colleges and universities, and a required reading by candidates for executive and legislative offices in the United States. The revolutionary experiments and dominant religious thoughts in England during the Reformation and after cannot be too often recalled by disturbed liberals and conservatives of today.

MILTON G. EVANS.

CREATIVE CONTROVERSIES IN CHRISTIANITY. President George W. Richards. New York: Fleming H. Revell Company. 1938. Pp. 223. $1.50.

THIS volume is the series of lectures delivered in 1938 on the James Sprunt Foundation, Union Theological Seminary, North Carolina. The lecturer was selected because of his competency as historian and theologian, attested by years as President and Professor of Church History, Theological Seminary, Evangelical and Reformed Church, Lancaster, Pa. He selected a topic for the lectures from the two fields with which he is familiar, but in these lectures his interest is in the one of theology. He cites the crises in the history of speculative thought to call attention anew to the need of a Christian metaphysic, and to illustrate the value of controversy in securing emotional and intellectual stability.

His theistic position is disclosed by his declared hesitancy to use the descriptive word creative in the subject of his series of lectures, since the word should be confined to describe God's originating activity to contrast it with the mediating activity of human agency. Also, as a discerning student of Barth, he is his disciple in championing supernaturalism in history in order to counteract contemporary humanistic emphasis.

The scope of history covered and the creative characters selected are indicated by the table of contents: I. Philosopher and Prophet: Socrates and Amos; II. Jesus; III. Saul, Who Was Also Called Paul; IV. The Holy Spirit in Action and in Definition; V. Quest for a Christian Metaphysic; VI. The Middle Age—When? Why? What?; VII. Schleiermacher and Barth.

President Richards is not content to be chronicler, nor purveyor of information, but interpreter and evangelical theologian. He is interested in the ideals of his selected creative persons rather than in the persons that hold them, for to him history is the record of the war of ideals. The apocalyptic sentences, "There is war on earth because there is war in heaven," and "The battles of men are the conflicts of the gods projected in time and space," indicate both the treatment of material and compactness of language. There are passages of religious fervor that become a Christian metaphysician. There are many instances of generalization that arrest attention like a proverb: "Then the Jewish Christians endeavored to turn the Gospel into a new law; the Greek Christians, into a new philosophy. Paul proclaimed it as a new life."

The lecturer always has his eyes on the present, though dealing with the past; on the human relative while assured of the divine absolute. What he remarks concerning his lecture on "The Middle Age," "I have tried to set forth clearly the

organic relation of the Middle Age to the ancient world on the one hand and to the modern world on the other," is true of every lecture.

At the end of each chapter is printed a list of books to which the lecturer has been indebted for information and stimulus. These the reader may consult for verification and for more detailed information than the author can give in so brief compass.

MILTON G. EVANS.

THE MAKING OF THE MINISTER. William H. Leach. Nashville: Cokesbury Press. 1938. Pp. 204. $1.50.

IN THIS volume the editor of *Church Management* draws from his ample store of knowledge and experience the things which are of most value for the minister of today. He discusses the many-sided life of the pastor and preacher frankly and with sympathetic understanding. The problems of the pastorate are faced fairly, and wise suggestions made as to their solution.

How shall I get along with folks? Endure disillusionment? Invest the money I may be able to save? Marry on a small salary? Supplement my income? Serve the community? Lead the church? Shepherd the flock? Win the unchurched? Preach effectively? Be fair to myself, to my family, to the church, to my brethren, to society? Endure middle age? Enjoy retirement? Face the last great adventure?—these are the questions which weigh heavily on the parsonage and wrinkle the brows of its occupants. Any help in answering them is more than welcome.

The book is worthy of a wide reading. It is full of that sound practical wisdom and every-day common sense which will help the minister meet the issues of life. He will find it a good guide and companion. It will open the eyes of the layman, and keep him from wondering what in the world the minister does between sermons.

RITTENHOUSE NEISSER.

THE CHURCH AND THE CHRISTIAN. Shailer Mathews. New York: The Macmillan Company. 1938. Pp. 150. $2.00.

THIS new book by the Dean Emeritus of the Divinity School of the University of Chicago presents a compelling discussion of the place of the church. Protestants have rediscovered the church. Christianity is more than a mass of competitive philosophies and theologies. It is composed of different groups of Christians possessed of a common loyalty to Jesus. How different this is from the drastic statement of A. H. Strong: "It is only courtesy to speak of pedobaptist organizations as churches." The recent conferences at Oxford and Edinburgh manifested a new recognition of a common faith. Doctor Mathews studies the function of the churches and the meaning of the church from the point of view of history and the significance of group action. The social influence of the church is defined as dependent upon its religious function.

"Unpalatable facts must be faced by those who claim that the future of civilization depends upon 'the Church' and those who adopt the slogan of a non-social gospel that the church is over against the world. Human welfare is dependent upon the cooperation of many groups. An ecclesiastical organization is always tempted to become an end in itself, rather than to serve as a group having a definitely moral

and religious function to perform in cooperation with, and for the benefit of, other groups." This book ought to be on the desk of every faithful minister.

ELMER WILLIAM POWELL.

CIVIL LIBERTIES AND INDUSTRIAL CONFLICT. Roger N. Baldwin and Clarence B. Randall. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1938. $1.50.

ANYONE interested in the American scene, and almost everyone is, is always on the lookout for just such a book as this one proves to be. It is not a collaboration as the title might suggest, but a series of four lectures delivered before audiences at Harvard University last spring. Each man delivered two lectures, not knowing the nature and contents of the other lectures before delivering his own. This may have had its advantages, but the book itself would have been more profitable if there had been a little collaboration beforehand. As the book stands, Mr. Randall's discussions suffer by contrast because he greatly narrowed the field of his inquiry, confining himself to violations of civil liberties on the part of labor, which Mr. Baldwin also acknowledged, but which he felt were for the most part temporary and on the way out, namely, mob violence, racketeering, union coercion of individual workers, and like practices. Mr. Randall is the vice-president of the Inland Steel Company and its director. He undoubtedly knows whereof he speaks, but one feels that his grasp of the Labor Movement leaves much to be desired and that he magnifies incidents out of proportion to their importance. He shows no disposition to recognize the case for Labor as also an offended party. Perhaps he did not feel that this was a part of his task, but his own case would have been greatly strengthened by it.

Mr. Baldwin, who is the Director of the American Civil Liberties Union, set a broad stage for his inquiry and thereby produced the more valuable discussion. Civil liberties are to be maintained because they are instruments to secure "the extension of the control of social institutions by progressively larger classes until human society ultimately abolishes the violence of class conflict." His first lecture, "Organized Labor and Industrial Conflict," is an admirable account of the Labor Movement in America and the relation of civil liberties to its development. One's faith in democratic processes cannot help but be greatly strengthened by such reading. The hope of the Labor Movement lies in the maintenance of the liberties secured to it by democracy. His second lecture, "Public Opinion and Industrial Strife," plays up the importance of the middle class in America as the arbiter of the future and reviews the development of a middle-class opinion on the question of Labor. The spread of unions to an ever-increasing circle of human activity and interest, particularly the major opinion-forming forces such as the radio, movies, newspapers, and so forth, brought about for that "end" which Mr. Baldwin never seems to lose sight of. Once again the case for democracy and the maintenance of civil liberties is compelling. The third and fourth lectures are by Mr. Randall and are entitled "Management and Mass Activities" and "The Plight of the Individual Worker."

A. HERBERT HASLAM.

BOOK NOTICES

A Democratic Philosophy. Wendell Thomas. New York: Consolidated Enterprises. 1938. Pp. 148. $1.50.

This book is a fantastic attempt to state the goal and method of democracy. The author takes three symbolic figures about whom he presents his thesis. John Dewey, the philosopher of applied science, represents liberalism; Karl Marx, the prophet of planned economy, represents in economics and political science the meaning of the Jewish-Christian working-class movement; Sankara, the outstanding expositor of Hinduism, represents the religious insights. The author proposes "to build a unified structure from their teachings."

Elmer W. Powell.

Frances Willard of Evanston. Lydia Jones Trowbridge. Chicago: Willett, Clark and Co. 1938. Pp. xvii, 197. $2.00.

This biography of a remarkable woman comes from the pen of one who knew intimately Miss Willard and her family. It portrays a character strong and courageous; an educator far in advance of her day; a leader in many reforms, fearless but not intolerant; a public speaker of rare force and ability; beloved throughout the world; honored by her own and other nations.

Miss Willard's *Autobiography,* written fifty years ago, could not paint the picture as it is given in this biography by a friend. The book is interesting reading and a fitting memorial to Miss Willard on the one-hundredth anniversary of her birth.

Grace E. Neisser.

The Book of Beginnings: A new translation of the Book of Genesis with special attention to its poetic values. Alexander Marlowe. Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company. 1938. Pp. 139. $1.00.

Where this translation differs from the Authorized version, the theological opinions of the author are as much in evidence as are the values of the original text.

I. G. Matthews.

Looking Into Life. Paul M. Tharp. Chicago: The Bible Institute Colportage Association. 1936. Pp. 144. 75 cents.

The author points out that vision must take three directions for a satisfactory "look into life"—Inward, Outward and Upward. His work is readable, conservative, and based upon a literal interpretation of the Scriptures. To him modernism is paganism, *"evolution, higher criticism,* and *change"* are a "trinity of falsehood," and "Satan and not God is in charge at present of economics and employment in this present evil world." Jesus Christ is presented as the only way of individual and social salvation.

Rittenhouse Neisser.

"Let Not Your Heart Be Troubled." James Dalton Morrison. Chicago: Willett, Clark and Co. 1938. Pp. 64. 40 cents, in paper.

The author is pastor of the Central Baptist Church of Providence, one of the strong churches of New England. This little volume consists of brief passages of Scripture, meditations, poetry, and prayers: "selections of comfort and courage." Doctor Morrison proves in this, as in an earlier volume, that he has a peculiar aptness in writing and making selections appropriate to devotional themes. This is the sort of booklet the minister desires to put into the hands of the sick, the aged, the shut-ins.

W. R. McNutt.

Miracles of Faith. John Maillard. New York: Harper and Brothers. 1938. Pp. 127. $1.25.

This unusual book is a record of the extraordinary experiences of John Maillard and his faith healing. The author, who is the founder of Milton Abbey, a home dedicated to healing by means of prayer, tells of a mystical experience in which Christ bade him go forth to heal men, even as had been done long ago in Galilee. Case after case is cited to prove the efficacy of prayer and faith in the process of healing the mind and body. The number and variety of the cures, the sincerity and genuineness of the author, and the success of Milton Abbey in Dorset arrest one's attention and make the reader realize the vast possibilities in a realm that has not been too deeply explored. This is, to say the least, a most interesting book.

Charles E. Batten.

There Really Is a Father Christmas. Douglas L. Flintan. Chicago: Willett, Clark and Co. 1938. Pp. 73.

Mr. Flintan has written a delightful and original story about how Saint Nicholas became the patron saint of children and why he lives forever. The jacket carries a sub-title, "The Life Story of Santa Claus," and, it may be said, is a wholesome story of the real Santa Claus. The book is illustrated with drawings which carry out the ideas of the text.

R. D. Miller.

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